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XIV.

MODERN DISCOVERIES ON THE SITE OF ANCIENT EPHESUS

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J. T. WOOD, F.S.A.

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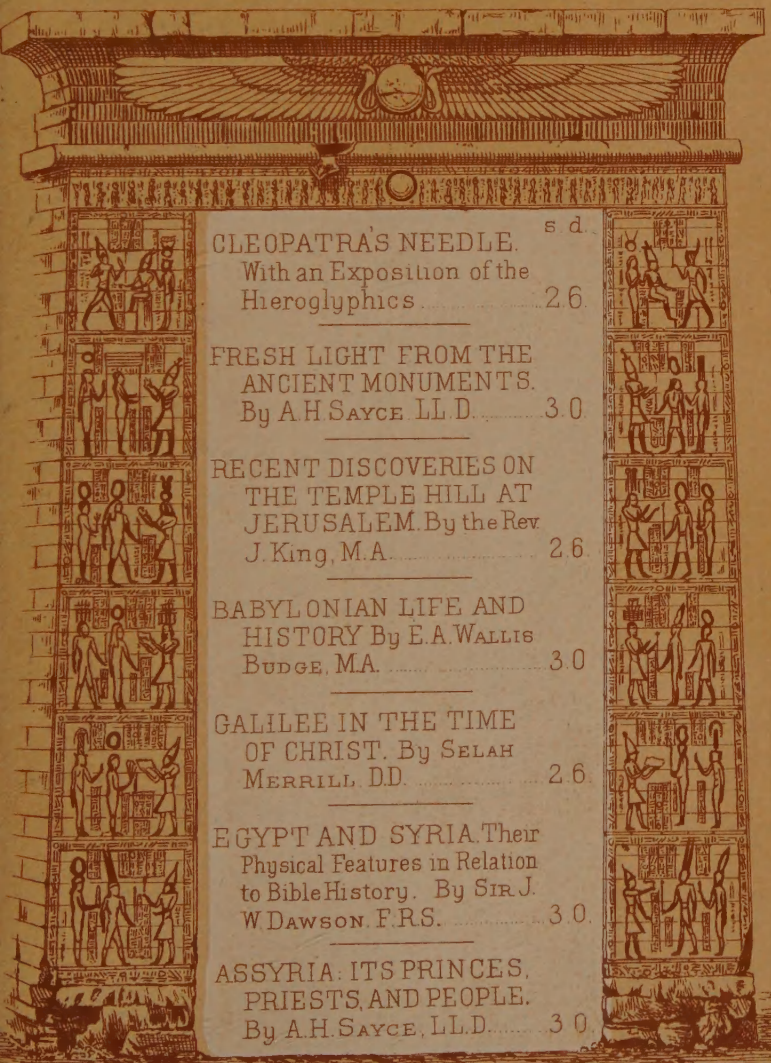

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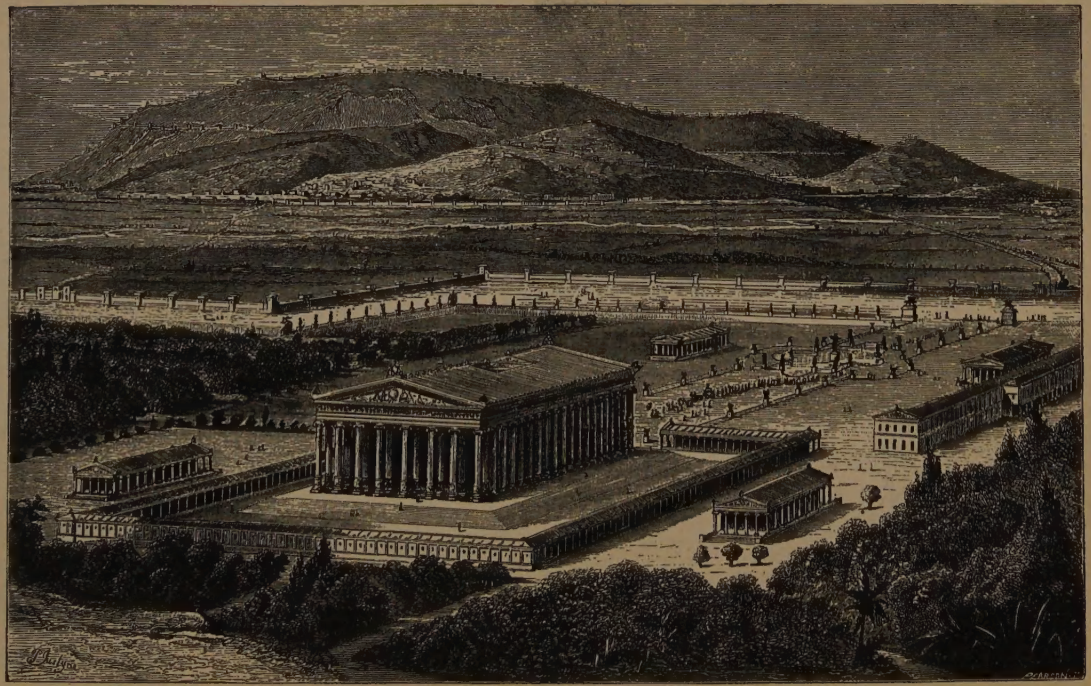

THE TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHESUS RESTORED.

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By-Paths of Bible Knowledge.

XIV.

MODERN DISCOVERIES

ON THE

SITE OF ANCIENT EPHESUS.

BY THE LATE

J. T. WOOD, F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF

DISCOVERIES AT EPHESUS, INCLUDING THE SITE AND REMAINS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF DIANA.'

WITH THIRTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY,

56 PATERNOSTER ROW, 65 ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD,

AND 164 PICCADILLY.

1890

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE labours, long continued, and the great successes in antiquarian research achieved by the late Mr. J. T. Wood, F.S.A. on the site of ancient Ephesus, are well known to all students interested in the excavation of Biblical sites. Mr. Wood published the record and results of his eleven years of arduous toil in a handsome quarto volume which appeared with the imprint of Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. in 1877. This volume, necessarily costly from the style in which it was got up, was accessible to comparatively few readers, and has long been out of print.

But it has been felt that a wide circle of readers would derive benefit from a condensed and easily accessible account of the surprising discoveries Mr. Wood was enabled to make upon the site of one of the most famous of Biblical cities. Hence his widow has placed at the disposal of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, not only the volume already referred to, but a mass of MSS. left by her late husband, for the purpose of preparing this volume.

The aim of the editor has been to present as clearly as possible the facts Mr. Wood gathered respecting the history of Ephesus, its classical and Christian antiquities, giving with considerable fulness of detail the story of the long search, at last appropriately rewarded by the discovery of the veritable site of the temple in which once stood 'the image which fell down from Jupiter,' of the great goddess Diana, against whose worship St. Paul's preaching dealt such deadly blows.

The object sought in this volume has been to put all these facts into such a form as to be useful to the Bible student. If at first sight it should seem hardly suitable for the series in which it is found, reflection will probably lead to the conviction that a record which throws so much light upon the city where Apollos and St. Paul and St. John were all well known as faithful preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, well deserves a place in any series of books intended to illustrate the Scripture record. The careful student of this little book, and the plans and illustrations which it contains, will be able to form some tolerably clear mental pictures of the great temple, and of the busy port of the Ephesus of the first Christian century. And the power to do this can hardly fail to deepen the reverent interest with which he will peruse afresh the wonderful description contained in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts; and recall the fact that here St. John manifested the power and charm of his well-nigh perfect character, and that here he penned those blessed words, 'If we walk in

the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin. If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' It was here that the profound fourth Gospel was written by the disciple who at the Last Supper leaned on the bosom of his Lord, and it was to this church that the same apostle addressed, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, through the person of its chief minister, the warning and the promise, needed alike by all churches and all ages, 'Repent, and do the first works;' 'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.'

While possibly not strictly belonging to the plan of the book, it has been thought well to include the incidents related in Chapter vii. They give very interesting pictures of the conditions of modern life in Asia Minor, and they also enable the reader to understand the expenses and risks incurred in recovering these ancient sites.

For all the illustrations but one, the frontispiece, the editor is indebted to Messrs. Longmans and Co.

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CHAPTER I.

Historical Sketch of Ephesus.

The ancient city of Ephesus was situated on the river Cayster, which falls into the bay of Scala Nova on the western coast of Asia Minor. The traditional birthplace of the goddess Diana was in the Ephesian territory, and is described by Strabo as a thick wood, through which ran the river Cenchrius, near to which there was a mountain called Solmissus. The wood, the river, and the mountain were most probably in the immediate vicinity of the site which was afterwards selected for the temple dedicated to Diana, and which has now been located to the north-east of the city, and nearly a mile from the nearest gate.

A city of more or less importance had probably existed in the Ephesian territory for several centuries, before Androclus, the Athenian, with his followers, came and settled there, and thus founded one of the twelve cities of the Ionian Confederation, B.C. 1044. The Dorian migration dates back to a period sixty years earlier. According to Herodotus, they colonized the western coast of Asia Minor, and probably settled as far north as Ephesus. Pausanias tells us that Androclus drove out of the country the Lydians and others who dwelt in the upper city, but he suffered those who resided about the temple to remain undisturbed upon

their swearing allegiance to him as king. History does not inform us who built the temple here alluded to, nor what kind of building it was.

Androclus appears to have had the energy and courage necessary at that time to maintain his rights, and he doubtless did much to increase the importance of the city, and to extend the worship of the goddess Diana. He also conquered Samos, and the neighbouring islands, but eventually fell in an engagement wherein he assisted the Prienenses against the Carians. Pausanias, writing in the second century of the Christian era, says, 'Even now the sepulchre of Androclus, surmounted by the figure of an armed man, may be seen in the road which leads from the temple of Diana to the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, and the gates called Magnetidæ.'

On the death of Androclus, Ephesus became a republic, and thus remained till the time of Alyattes, about B.C. 620.

The sons of Alyattes, like those of Androclus, were driven out of the city, but the republic then formed existed only a few years, for Pindarus, the grandson of Alyattes, again took the city, and established himself as the tyrant.

In the year 562 B.C., Crœsus besieged the city, and Pindarus, seeing that there was little chance of saving it except by stratagem, ordered it to be united by cords to the temple of Diana, which was seven stadia distant. By this means the city and its inhabitants were in a manner dedicated to Diana and placed under her special protection; and Crœsus, having respect to their stratagem, granted the citizens their liberty, at the same time that he exiled Pindarus, the tyrant.

Crœsus did not long enjoy his new dominion. Before the expiration of three years, the Ephesians rebelled against him, and Aristarchus, an Athenian, was chosen to supplant him. Aristarchus, as tyrant, ruled for five years, and his justice and discretion appears [to have succeeded in winning the confidence and affection of the people.

And now for more than two centuries, from the year 548 B.C. to the time of Alexander the Great B.C. 355–323, Ephesus was subject to, and paid tribute to Persia under Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes, Darius II, Artaxerxes II and III, and Darius III—at the death of whom the extinction of Persian Empire was accomplished. During this period the form of government repeatedly changed, and Ephesus was ruled successively by tyrants, oligarchies, and republics.

It was during these times of constant disquietude for Ephesus that the arts of Greece attained to their highest perfection, and it was within this short period of little more than two centuries that the great temple of Diana was three times built upon the same site, and, as has now been ascertained, of the same grandeur, if not magnificence.

Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great successively exerted themselves to free the Ionian cities of Asia from the Persian yoke; in this the latter succeeded.

After the death of Alexander, B.C. 323, Ephesus was taken by Antigonus, who put garrisons into this and other cities of Asia Minor.

Ephesus was now governed by an oligarchy, who opened the gates of the city to Lysimachus, in whose time the ancient walls, now to be seen at Ephesus, are

said to have been built. During the century between the years 323 and 223 B.C., Ephesus was subject to Antigonus, Lysimachus, Demetrius, Antiochus Soter, Antiochus Theos, and the Seleucidæ. The form of government often changed as before. In the year 223 B.C., Antiochus the Great became King of Syria and Asia, and Ephesus paid tribute to him till his death, B.C. 187.

Ephesus then fell into the hands of the Kings of Pergamus, Eumenes, Attalus II, and Attalus III, successively. It was during the reign of Attalus II that an engineer made the grievous mistake of narrowing the mouth of the river Cayster by embanking it near the mouth on the north side, and building a mole upon the sea-shore. It was considered that these constructions would increase the scour of the river near its mouth, which was formerly very wide; but it had a contrary effect, the detritus from the mountains, which are greatly composed of mica-schist, did not get away into the sea as well as before, and in course of time the port was silted up. To this circumstance the decline of Ephesus has been partly attributed. The remains of this massive embankment may even now be traced for nearly a mile, to within 400 yards of the present sea-board; and this is sufficient to refute the assertion of those who say that the sea formerly approached the city, which is now fully four miles distant, and could not have been much less distant 2000 years ago.

We have every reason to believe that Ephesus, from the time of its foundation, increased in importance till it became the chief mart of Asia Minor, and that the worship of the great goddess in her magnificent temple

never ceased to attract multitudes from all parts, many of whom remained to benefit themselves by her commerce as well as to worship at the shrine of the goddess.

The Romans now determined to possess themselves of this beautiful city, but the Ephesians struggled obstinately for their independence, and revolted in favour of Mithridates. They were, however, eventually subdued by the Romans under Antony, B.C. 41.

The luxurious life led by Antony at Ephesus, where he was joined by Cleopatra, must have retarded for a few years the prosperity of the city, but with the peace she enjoyed in common with other cities of Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, her commerce and riches must have increased, in spite of the heavy tribute she had to pay to her new masters. Cæsar Augustus, in addition to restricting the limits of the sacred precinct of the temple, no doubt commenced large public buildings, many of which were probably completed by Tiberius Cæsar after the severe earthquakes which destroyed so many cities in his time. In the time of the Cæsars all the public buildings, including the theatres and gymnasia, must have been erected, the foundations of some of the ancient Greek structures being allowed to remain wherever they could be utilized—but the small amount of Greek masonry found in excavations in the city proves how the Romans destroyed the works of other hands than their own.

Christianity had amongst its earliest and most earnest followers many of the inhabitants of Ephesus, and the success of St. Paul's teaching and preaching is proved by the disturbance which was promoted in the interests of Demetrius and the other shrine-makers for the

temple of Diana[1]. And we are told that even the magicians burnt their books to the value of 50,000 pieces of silver—this was probably equal to about 1,770 pounds sterling.

Christianity, indeed, had increased to such an alarming extent that the Roman Pliny, writing to Trajan, asks, 'What is to be done with these people? Are those who repent to be pardoned, or is it to no purpose to renounce Christianity after having once professed it?' Trajan mercifully replies, 'The Christians need not be sought after.'

Under Antoninus Pius a great portion of the city near the Odeum was rebuilt. The Jews, who were very likely a numerous community at Ephesus, had a quarter of the city allotted to them for their residence, as they have in modern times in many cities of Europe as well as at Smyrna. It may be presumed that Christianity never failed to prosper in the city of Ephesus from the time it was first preached there, and it is probable that even some Christian churches were built within the city before the temple was finally destroyed. The Goths sacked the city A.D. 262. It is supposed that the temple did not exist many years after that date, and that the Christians towards the latter end of the third century exerted themselves to the utmost to extirpate all remains of the worship of Diana by the total destruction of her temple, and probably the persecution of her worshippers—even as Christians in the present day persecute each other. Some of the marble blocks

[1] These shrines were probably minute models of the temple and the mage of Diana, and they were used as charms in the house, and occasionally carried on journeys.

from the walls of the temple were used to repair the proscenium of the great theatre, as I discovered in the course of the explorations, and all the square blocks of marble were taken for similar purposes, and the sculptures chopped up for lime.

Churches were said to have been dedicated to St. John, St. Mark, and St. Luke. There is also, on the east side of Mount Coressus, a church near the cleft in the rock called the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, which was said to be dedicated to them. It is cut out of the solid rock, and the groined roof is of stone and plastered.

Timothy, the first Bishop of Ephesus, was supposed to be the angel of the church alluded to in the Revelation of St. John. The Council held at Ephesus in the Church of St. John, which I believe was situate on the hill at Ayasalouk, met in the year A.D. 431 to decide the question raised by the Nestorian heresy.

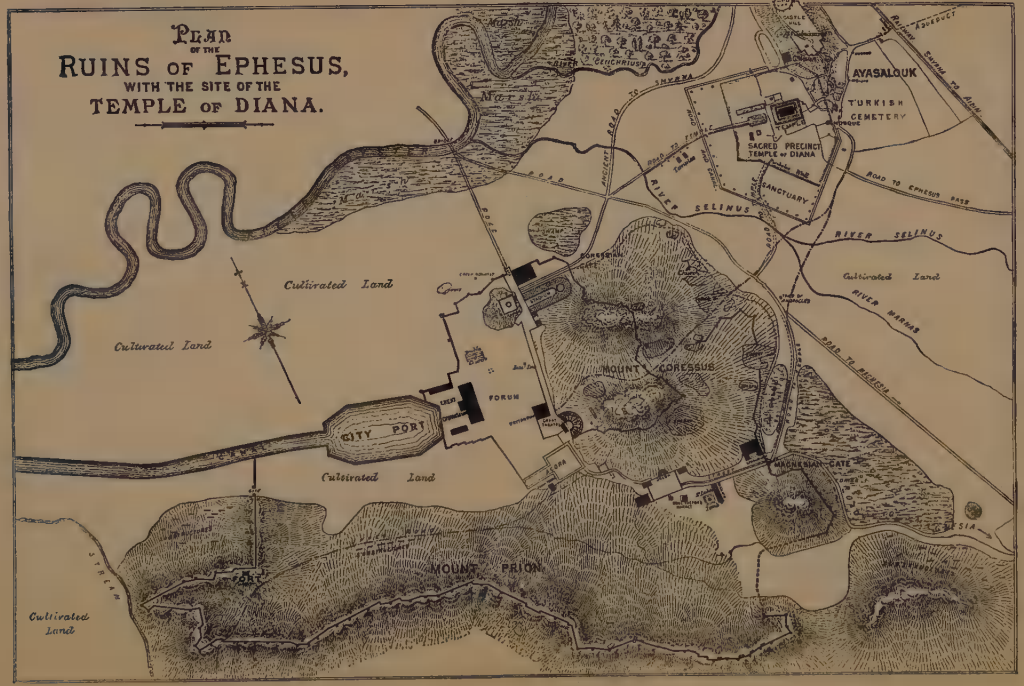
With the decline of its commerce and the destruction of the temple, Ephesus lost its historical importance, and we know little of its history during many centuries. It probably fell into the hands of numerous adventurers, of whom a certain Greek pirate is named in the eleventh century.

The Turks took possession of the city in the thirteenth century, and built a considerable town at Ayasalouk, which, with Ephesus itself, fell into the hands of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem established at Rhodes, and who struck some coins at Ayasalouk A.D. 1365.

Timour the Tartar, commonly nicknamed 'Tamerlane,' obtained possession of Ayasalouk, Ephesus being then only a suburb, A.D. 1402, but he was too great a conqueror to hold for any length of time a place which had

by that time become so insignificant, and the Turks soon regained possession, and retained it.

The ancient city of Ephesus was by degrees deserted, and the Turkish town at Ayasalouk also appears to have fallen into decay—the great mosque itself being now roofless. The malaria from the marshes near the river Cayster increased from year to year until the inhabitants deserted not only Ephesus, but Ayasalouk, and took up their abode in the modern village of Tchirkenjee, situate on the mountain range on the east side of the plain. In the present day there are a few caffigees and bakals (coffee-house keepers and provision dealers), who increased in number while the excavations were in progress, but although there are some small houses and huts at Ayasalouk there are not more than twenty regular inhabitants, the houses being occupied only during sowing and harvest times by the people from Tchirkenjee, who cultivate the land in the plain of Ephesus, and now grow tobacco amongst the ruins of the ancient city. This tobacco has acquired a great reputation for its fine quality, and obtains a high price in Smyrna.


PLAN
OF THE
RUINS OF EPHESUS,
WITH THE SITE OF THE
TEMPLE OF DIANA.
Cultivated Land
Cultivated Land
CITY PORT
Cultivated Land
MOUNT PRION
Cultivated Land
MOUNT CORESSUS
FORUM
AYASALOUK
TURKISH CEMETERY
SACRED PRECINCT TEMPLE OF DIANA
SANCTUARY
RIVER SELINUS
RIVER SELINUS
Cultivated Land
RIVER MARNAS
ROAD TO SMYRNA
ROAD TO EPHESUS
MAGNESIAN GATE

CHAPTER II.

The Site of Ancient Ephesus.

The city of Ephesus was built chiefly upon the slopes of two mountains, Prion and Coressus. The city wall, which is attributed to Lysimachus, can even now be traced for nearly its whole length, as it follows the lofty and jagged edge of Mount Prion, which bounds the city on the south side, and thence runs down westward to within a few yards of the mountain stream which falls into the Cayster near the canal, then crossing the extremity of Mount Prion, and turning eastward, it encloses the ancient fort, commonly, but erroneously, called 'St. Paul's Prison.' From this point, dipping down the rocky steep on which the fort stands, it runs to the edge of the canal near the city port, and here was the gate through which the city was entered from the sea. The wall is again to be seen on the north side of the port at its eastern extremity, and is continued northward for some distance, then again turning eastward towards the Coressian gate, and skirting Mount Coressus at some height up its side, till it reaches the Magnesian gate, from which it makes a circuit enclosing the large chalk mound between the gate and Mount Prion. The wall is fortified for its whole length by massive loopholed

towers, some of which are not more than a hundred feet apart. Near some of these towers are the remains of the flight of stone steps, six feet wide, which led up to the top of the wall; several sally-ports, four feet wide, still remain. One or two large rock-cut cisterns also exist on a levelled area near the wall on the highest part of the mountain; these doubtless supplied the garrison with water.

The summit of Mount Prion commands a beautiful panorama. To the south-west is seen the well-cultivated island of Samos and the mainland beyond. Westward is the open sea, bounded by an irregular coast-line made historically interesting by the site of the ancient city of Colophon, and the cave of the famous oracle of Claros. Northward the city of Ephesus with its massive ruins lies at your feet; the plain (T-shaped) is watered by four rivers, three of which have ever-changing beds, and is bounded on all sides, excepting westward, by mountains. In the distance is seen the picturesque Tmolus range, which carries the eye far away to the extreme distance where often sky and mountain blend.

The true site of the temple has now been proved to be to the north-east of the city, and nearly a mile from the nearest city-gate, as described by Pausanias and other ancient writers; but there was no mound to mark the exact site.

In the city there are many remains of ancient buildings; of these may be mentioned the Great Theatre on the west side, and the Odeum, or Lyric Theatre, on the south side of Mount Coressus. The Great Gymnasium, another large gymnasium near the Magnesian gate. A large building in the forum near the Great Theatre, which

was probably the Prytaneum. It was probably in this building that Mark Antony was sitting in the judgment-seat, when he saw Cleopatra passing by, and hastened out to join her. The Stadium was built on the north side of Mount Coressus, and near the Coressian gate. This was 850 feet long, and included a theatre at the east end. On the opposite side of the road which passed in front of the Stadium stood the Serapion on a rocky mound. Its rock-cut altar and quadrangle surrounded by cells remind one forcibly of the Serapion at Pozzuoli near Naples. To the north of the Stadium are extensive ruins of a large building which I partly explored; this was probably the Tyrant's Palace. The substructure contained apartments similar to those in Caligula's palace at Rome, which were occupied by the guard and other palace officials.

On the south side of the Agora are the remains of a beautiful Roman hexastyle temple of marble, with monolithic fluted columns nearly forty feet in length. Of the domestic buildings of the city nothing remains but the vaulted substructures on which they were raised; many of these still exist on the slopes of Mount Prion.

CHAPTER III.

Discovery of the Site of the Temple of Diana.

The temple of Diana (Artemis) at Ephesus ranked as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, and is alluded to, not only by many ancient writers, but in a special manner in the Acts of the Apostles. The remains of the famous temple, deeply buried, and thus hidden from the eye of man for so many centuries, became a subject of great curiosity during the last and present centuries, travellers having only the vague descriptions of the temple and its site by ancient writers.

The firman, which was procured for me from the Sublime Porte by the British Government, permitted me to excavate for antiquities at Ephesus and Colophon, and allowed me to export all the antiquities I might find excepting duplicates: these latter must be left for the Ottoman Government. These terms were so advantageous, that Mr. Blunt, the English Consul at Smyrna at that time, in writing to inform me that the Pasha had sent him word that the excavations might be resumed after a temporary suspension, added that he merely requested that when Mr. Wood had found the temple

of Diana *in duplicate* he would wish to be informed of it!

The suspension here alluded to was caused by the intrigue of a certain colonel, Réchad Bey, who was persuaded by a Greek, who had dreamt of treasure at Ephesus, to seek for it in one of my excavations. This man had sufficient influence with the Pasha of Smyrna to stop my works, while he sought for the hidden treasure by blowing up some of the ancient masonry of the Great Gymnasium with gunpowder.

My firman obliged me to obtain the leave of the owners of the land on which I wished to excavate; but I ventured to disregard this sometimes, and dug away without hindrance, excepting in one instance, where the land-owner came forward, and positively forbade my excavations on any part of his land. I had afterwards reason to believe that most of these men had no real right to the land they claimed, and had not purchased it from the Government.

For the first four months I explored the ground to the west and north of the city, and I found little more than the remains of Roman and Mediæval buildings. For the whole of September the excavations were nearly suspended in consequence of an unfortunate accident I met with in riding home one night from an expedition to Ninfi to see the famous rock-cut figure of Sesostris. My horse fell with me into a deep dry ditch, and the result was the fracture of a collar-bone. During my absence the men did very little work, and nothing of consequence was found; it was, however, more or less consolatory that there was so much less ground to be explored.

Ten months passed away, and the solution of the great

problem as to the site of the temple seemed to be as far off as ever. In addition to the numerous trial holes which I had sunk over a large area of the plain, I made some excavations at the Great Gymnasium at the head

THE GREAT GYMNASIUM.

of the city port, which had often been regarded by travellers as the temple itself. A number of monolithic granite shafts of columns here lie prostrate, and the columns in St. Sophia at Constantinople, which are there pointed out as columns from the temple of Diana at

Ephesus, were taken, I believe, from this building. In front of it I discovered a large marble hall of good Roman design, which I cleared out and found perfectly intact; one side of the building gave way one day immediately after I had visited it.

In March, 1864, Mr. Newton (now Sir Charles Newton, K.C.B.), late Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, came to Ephesus. At that time it had occurred to me that the best way to find the temple would be to find one or two of the ancient gates of the city, outside which I might perhaps find a well-worn road which might lead to the temple. As the position of the gates could not be determined without extensive excavations, it was decided that Mr. Newton should recommend the Trustees of the British Museum to grant me £100 for the exploration of the Odeum. I had wished to explore the Great Theatre, in the hope that I might meet with some inscription, or some other indication of the position of the temple. It was, however, decided that the Odeum should first be explored, and I set to work with renewed energy with the small grant of the Trustees.

As I was much engaged at Smyrna at that time as an architect, I appointed a young Greek to superintend the works. This man was highly intelligent, but very dishonest. Fragments of a large statue of Lucius Verus were found near the central doorway of the Odeum. The lower part of the body, with the legs and thighs complete, arrived safely at the British Museum. The torso was put on board a sailing vessel at Smyrna bound for England; the vessel was wrecked, and the torso was no more seen. A figure of the muse Erato was rescued,

but was so much damaged by the action of the sea, that it was decided not to claim it from Lloyd's agent at Syra, so it remains there to this day. Another piece of sculpture found in the Odeum was a life-size figure of Silenus with the phallus in a patera.

Besides the statuary here mentioned were found numerous fragments of four inscriptions on thin slabs of marble, which had been fixed upon the walls of the proscenium, and had fallen upon the pulpitum. These were rescripts of letters from the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius to the Magistrates, Council, and people of Ephesus. One of the letters from Antoninus reproaches the people of Ephesus for their want of appreciation of a certain Vedius Antoninus, who had suggested great improvements in the city, of which the emperor approved.

I cleared out the whole of the Odeum, and found the whole of the seats and steps, also the marble pavement of the orchestra and pulpitum, quite perfect; but visitors of all nations have since made sad havoc of what remained, and it is now in a sadly ruinous condition. The fluted columns of the proscenium, with their beautifully carved Corinthian capitals, had fallen on the pavement, and little more than pedestals with portions of the five doorways remained in position. This theatre was 153 feet in diameter, and was capable of seating 2,300 persons.

While I was carrying on these excavations, I had obtained permission from the railway authorities to occupy a small châlet in the Ephesus Pass—this was about three miles from the Odeum. I had at that time only one cavass as general servant and body-guard.

My home was in a lonely spot, and when I first took possession of the châlet a gang of robbers had broken into one or two of the few houses within a mile of me,

THE CHALET EPHESUS PASS.

had tied the residents to their heavy furniture, and made off with plunder; I ran the risk of being similarly treated, my greatest danger being when I returned in the evening with my single attendant, and while he went down to

the stream to fetch water, I was left alone on the balcony; the house was built on a steep slope, which was covered with thick underwood, most favourable for an ambush. As I walked up and down on the balcony I kept on the alert against sudden attack, and I never dined without a pistol on the table ready to my right hand; these precautions could be seen from a side window, and very likely warned off the robbers, and I was not attacked during the few months during which I occupied the châlet.

One evening on walking home from the Odeum my foot struck against a stone, which, on examination, I found showed the head of a cross; the next day I had the whole stone laid bare, and found that it was a door-jamb, on the front of which were two panels, in one of which was carved a large Latin cross, and in the other the figure of a bull with a small cross above its back; on the side of the stone there had been carved a human figure, of which nothing remained but the auriole which had encircled the head; this having been incised, remained perfect. I concluded from these signs that this must have been the tomb of St. Luke, who, according to tradition, is said to have died and to have been buried at Ephesus. This tomb is fully described in a subsequent chapter.

One afternoon, while I was clearing out the Odeum and St. Luke's tomb, and while I was actually employed in superintending operations at the latter, my ganger, a tall dark Italian, came breathless and hatless to tell me that some Zébecks had come to the Odeum; they had stolen a sheep, and had come to look for me; he urged me to get away with as much speed as possible. I did not

know whether I should believe him or not, and hesitated to start homeward in precipitate haste. I was inclined to think it might be a hoax and trial of my courage; and while I hesitated, one of the workmen (a Greek) urged my taking flight at once, and he advised me to leave my watch and money in 'a nice little hole' which he would dig for me, and in which they would be perfectly safe! I need scarcely say I did not trust my valuables in the snug 'little hole,' nor did I leave the spot till I could do so with becoming dignity; for to have shown the white feather would have been bad policy. As the Zébecks did not come on to the place where I awaited them, I was inclined to think that my ganger's tale was indeed a hoax; if so, he acted his part admirably.

The interesting discoveries made at the Odeum encouraged the Trustees of the British Museum to make me a special grant to explore the Great Theatre; but I was not then permitted to spend any money in a manner more direct upon my main enterprise—the discovery of the Temple of Diana.

In February, 1866, I commenced the exploration of the Great Theatre. It was built against the steep western side of Mount Coressus. Its diameter, 495 feet, was measurable before the excavations were commenced. The pulpitum was twenty-two feet deep, the orchestra 110 feet in diameter. This theatre was capable of seating 24,500 persons. The proscenium, which was handsomely decorated with two tiers of columns, had fallen upon the pulpitum (stage); in clearing the pulpitum and orchestra of the débris which encumbered them, I found a great number of inscriptions, mostly Greek, and built into the masonry of the proscenium. I found six large

blocks of marble, on which were inscribed twenty-six decrees of the Senate and the people of Ephesus, conferring the citizenship and other honours upon various persons.

One of the most interesting of these decrees is one conferring the citizenship upon a certain Rhodian named Agathocles, who had in time of dearth sent into the market 14,000 measures of wheat, to be sold at a low price. The Essenes were to allot him a place in a tribe and a thousand. The decree was ordered to be inscribed in the Temple of Artemis.

Another of these interesting decrees is thus worded: —'Philænetus, son of Philophron, moved, That whereas Nicagoras, son of Aristarchus of Rhodes, when sent from Kings Demetrius and Seleucus to the people of Ephesus and the other Hellenes, appeared before the people, and addressed them on the friendly relations which have been established, and on the good-will which the kings continue to bear towards the Hellenes, and renewed the alliance which formerly existed between himself and this city: it be hereby resolved by the council and the people to commend Nicagoras for the good-will which he continues to bear towards the kings and the people, and to crown him with a crown of gold, and to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the Ephesian festival, and further, to grant citizenship to him upon equal and similar terms as to the rest of their benefactors, and that he enjoy the privilege of occupying a front seat at the games, and of entering or leaving the harbour at pleasure alike in war and peace, and of exemption from duty on all goods which he may import or export, whether for his own family or for market, and of admission to the

assemblies of the council and the people first after the sacred rites. These distinctions to belong to himself and to his descendants. Moreover, that the grants which have now been made to him be inscribed by the temple wardens where they inscribe other like grants, and that they allot him a place in a tribe and to a thousand, to the end that all may know that the people of Ephesus honour with appropriate gifts those who are loyal to their interests. And also that the people send him pledges of their friendship. Admitted into the Ephesian tribe, and the Lebedian thousand.'

These decrees could not have been of later date than 299 B.C., and the blocks of marble upon which they are inscribed must therefore have come from the temple which succeeded that which was destroyed by Erostratus on the day when Alexander was born, B.C. 356, and were evidently conveyed to the theatre to aid in the reconstruction of the proscenium. On further exploration of the theatre it is probable that more of these interesting decrees would be found.

On clearing out the southern entrance to the theatre, there was laid bare a long inscription which covered the wall terminating the auditorium. It was inscribed on massive blocks of marble, which were strongly dowelled together. We had the greatest difficulty in taking them from the wall without injury. Seeing the difficulty, and the rough and ready manner in which the blue-jackets, who were employed at that time upon this part of the work, went to work, I promised them a pound of tobacco all round if they would work more carefully and bring one of the most important of these stones down upon the pavement. This promise had the desired effect, and

the stone was taken from the wall without injury. The removal of another large block, which was not of the same importance, was accomplished by allowing it to come down with a loud thud.

The blue-jackets were sent out to Ephesus to remove the stones which I had ready for conveyance to the British Museum. H.M.S. Terrible, Captain, now Admiral Sir John Commerell, was sent to Smyrna at my request for a ship of war, to take the antiquities to England, and twenty-six of the crew were sent out to Ephesus. These men at first began to chip a sarcophagus, but on my remonstrating and reminding them that they had been sent out to assist me, and not to destroy what had been found, they at once desisted, and they never again gave me reason to complain during the twenty days they were employed under my direction.

The inscription above mentioned described a number of gold and silver images, weighing from 3 lbs. to 7 lbs. each, which were voted to Artemis, and were to be placed in her temple; and on certain days of assembly in the theatre, including the anniversary of the birthday of the goddess, they were to be carried from the temple to the theatre by two curators of the temple attended by the conquerors in the games and a staff-bearer and guards. This procession was met at the Magnesian gate by the Epheboi (young men), who assisted to carry the images into the theatre, where they were set up in full view of the assembly. After the assembly the images were carried back to the temple through the Coressian gate, to which gate the young men assisted in carrying them. The inscription mentions all the details of the endowment, even the sum of money to be spent in plate-powder for

cleaning the images. The images themselves are minutely described, and their individual weight in pounds, ounces, and grains.

There were several images of Artemis of gold, with two silver deer, two silver figures of Artemis bearing a torch; there were also silver images representing the senate, the council, the equestrian order, the Roman people of Ephesus, the elders, the young men and the city of Ephesus; also a libation vessel (patera), also a silver image of the Euonymian tribe. There were doubtless images representing all the tribes, but their names are lost in the lacunæ of the inscription.

One inscription was a most important discovery. It confirmed me in the plan I had already revolved in my mind, whether I should not find one or more of the gates of the city, and by a well-worn road, which I hoped to find outside the gate, work my way on to the temple. Two gates are named in the inscription, the Magnesian and Coressian gates. I now obtained leave to spend £50 of my grant in my search for the temple, and with that sum I succeeded in finding both these gates. At the Magnesian gate, which had three openings, two for carts and chariots and one for foot-passengers, deep ruts in the marble pavement remain at and near the gate; these ruts are not traceable far outside the gate, and in tracing their ultimate direction, I had to open a large area. I here found a record of the river Marnas, the water of which was brought in at this gate. I eventually found a marble paved road, thirty-five feet wide, turning northward round Mount Coressus with four distinct chariot-ruts deeply cut in it; at the same time I followed the road turning southward for about 200 yards which showed very little

traffic, and it evidently was the country road leading to Magnesia ad Mæandrum. On both sides of this road were found some very interesting tombs and cippi, one of which was inscribed to the memory of a soldier of the Roman army aged twenty-six. Another, of which I give an engraving, was that of D. Publicius Fructus, a lictor.

TOMB OF A LICTOR.

It is a small panel on which are carved the fasces, and an axe surmounted by the head of Terror (*Φόβος*).

As I decided now to follow the road leading round Mount Coressus, I devoted all my energy to tracing its course up to the precincts of the temple; and I was duly authorized to devote the rest of my grant to its discovery, with a warning that I should have no more if I did not with it find the temple. At a short distance from the Magnesian gate I found the remains of the portico built by a rich Roman named Damianus in the second century B.C. This portico, vaguely described by Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists*, was intended to shelter people

going from the city to the temple, and it ran alongside the road. We are here reminded of the porticoes or covered ways at Bologna and Vicenza leading to churches outside the gates. I confined my excavations to one side of the road, and laid bare a great number of tombs and marble

THE LABARUM.

A CHRISTIAN TOMBSTONE.

sarcophagi ; one of the latter contained the remains of fourteen persons, another those of four persons, one or two had the *labarum* cut upon their limbs. At the distance of 2,600 feet from the Magnesian gate were

found remains of what I presume must have been the tomb of Androclus. Pausanias describes this tomb and the temple of Jupiter as being on the road from the Magnesian gate to the temple. Six hundred feet beyond the tomb of Androclus I found the road I had been searching for leading off at right angles towards Ayasalouk. This road was forty-five feet wide, ten feet wider than the road I had been following, and it had handsome sarcophagi on each side. At the time I found this road, I had nearly come to the end of my grant, and the barley had grown up to its full height, about eight feet. I had no means of compensating the land-owners if I cut down the barley; but tracing the direction of the road by taking advantage of one or two boundaries which crossed it at right angles, I saw that it pointed to a modern boundary, marked by some old olive-trees and bushes of the Agnus Castris, which had long before attracted my attention. I now determined to put on a dozen men at this point, and make a more extensive excavation. This resulted in the discovery of a thick wall of rough masonry. Extending the excavation, I struck upon the angle of the wall, and at about eight feet below the surface, laid bare two inscriptions on the south side which were repeated on the west side. These inscriptions showed that I had discovered the peribolus wall of the temple described by Tacitus, which was built by Augustus to restrict the *temenos* or sacred precinct which had approached too near the city and facilitated the escape of the wrong-doer.

This important discovery was made on May 2, 1869. The search for the temple had commenced on May 2, 1863; and consulting my diaries I found that during

this long period I had worked on my enterprise for twenty months. The day on which this wall with the inscriptions was found terminated the long period—six years—of great anxiety and misgiving, and of almost hopeless endeavour; and the discovery now made compensated for all.

M. Waddington, afterwards French ambassador in London, wrote thus to congratulate me on the discovery of the peribolus wall:—'I congratulate you most warmly on your most important discovery, the more so because it is not the result of a lucky accident, but entirely due to your wonderful perseverance and tenacity under difficult and sometimes dangerous circumstances.'

I traced the peribolus wall for 1,000 feet northward and 500 feet eastward, and thus fully confirmed the information given by the inscriptions that it enclosed the Artemisium and Augusteum, from the revenues of the former of which the wall was built. The masonry of this was very rough, and was probably contract work. In order to make this discovery complete, I had been obliged to apply to the Trustees of the British Museum for an additional sum of £200; and this was granted in consideration of the sacrifices I had made, and my perseverance under much discouragement in carrying on the work of exploration.

While digging at the theatre, I found on the east side of the forum a basin of Breccia fifteen feet in diameter; which, from its form and from there being no hole in the centre, I concluded must have been used as a font for the public baptism of the early Christians. The basin was mounted upon a pedestal, and the sunk part of it was capable of accommodating twenty persons at a time.

The centre was raised, to enable the baptizer to stand dry-shod. A cistern and water-pipe were found near. To the south of the Great Theatre, and overlooking the Agora, I found the remains of a portico with a beautiful Roman mosaic pavement, of varied design, nearly intact.

CHAPTER IV.

Exploration of the Site of the Temple.

Having discovered the whereabouts of the temple, I returned to England to recruit my strength and to report my success personally to the Trustees. They did not now hesitate to vote me another grant to perfect the discovery; and I returned to my work in September, 1869, with sufficient funds to proceed with the excavations, now confined entirely to the area so far marked out by the peribolus wall. I sank trial-holes in great numbers from twelve to twenty feet deep, and at the same time continued to follow the peribolus wall until a very large area was defined as including the site of the temple and its adjuncts. At a distance of some hundred yards from the angle first found, I struck upon a building which proved to be seven hundred feet long, running from west to east, in which I found at the depth of two feet a beautiful Roman mosaic pavement of a Triton, who is represented carrying in one hand a dish of fruit, in the other the pedum, or crooked stick, with which he had obtained the fruit. A dolphin carries his trident in his mouth; a large dragon-fly threatens to attack the fruit, but the Triton is guarding it with a watchful eye. Two small fish, which I suppose might even now be found in the Cayster, complete the group.

The whole is surrounded by a guilloche border. This mosaic is now in the British Museum.

From the position and character of the building in which this mosaic was found, I concluded that I was now not far from the site of the temple, and I sunk a great number of trial-holes to the south and east of it. The ground naturally sloped downward towards the sea, and therefore my trial-holes were necessarily deeper as I worked on eastwards, till, at a depth of nearly twenty feet, I at length found the Greek pavement I had been searching for. It consisted of two layers, the upper one nine inches thick of white marble, the lower one of rough stone fifteen inches thick; upon the small patch first found rested two fragments of one of the large sculptured columns. This discovery was made on December 31, 1869. As the next day happened to be the first of the feast of Bairam, I had the greatest difficulty in persuading the man who struck upon the pavement to remain on that day for a few hours in the morning; but he uncovered sufficient to convince me that I had really found the site of the temple, and it was thankfully welcomed by me as an acceptable New Year's gift.

It was now in my power to concentrate my force upon the opening up of the whole site. In due time, interesting portions of the temple came in view; one of the first being the remains of the anta at the south-west angle of the temple, some portions of the cella walls, and by a happy chance the foundation and base of one of the outer columns of the peristyle on the south side, and a great number of drums of columns.

After I had been at work a few months, and had laid

bare a considerable area down to the pavement of the earliest temple, Dr. Henry Schliemann paid me a visit. I was one day superintending the works and standing on the pavement, when I saw an active figure moving rapidly along the edge of the excavations towards the sloping road leading down to the bottom of the excavations, and in a few seconds I found myself face to face with an intelligent man of middle size, who introduced himself to me as Dr. Schliemann. Looking around him, he exclaimed in excited tones, 'So this is the *veritable* pavement of the temple of Diana? Let me shake hands with you, Mr. Wood; you have immortalized yourself.'

Dr. Schliemann then confided to me his great project. He said he had studied Homer, and he was inspired with the wish to find Troy, and he felt convinced he could find it. He asked me if I thought the Turks would give him leave to go to work. I told him of the manifesto which had then been recently issued by the Sublime Porte, declaring that no more firmans for excavations would be granted. 'But,' said Dr. Schliemann, 'I should not want to keep anything I found, I would give all to the Turks; I can afford to spend out of my income £1,500 a year.' I then expressed my opinion that on those conditions he would not be refused a firman.

The results of Schliemann's work, and his indomitable perseverance and wonderful success, are well known.

Towards the end of October, 1870, I met with a severe accident to my foot, which prevented my getting about as usual. Mrs. Wood therefore accompanied me to Ephesus, and for some days visited the works, and reported to me all that was going on. From that time

to the day when the works were suspended in 1874 she went out with me to Ephesus, and stayed throughout the week. On Saturday we went down to Smyrna, where we spent Sunday, and we returned on Monday to Ephesus.

As the works proceeded important remains of the temple were found, including several of the magnificent capitals of the columns of the peristyle, and several fragments of the earliest of the three temples, of which remains were eventually found, more than one fragment showing that sculptured columns were used in the earliest of these three temples. Many of the fragments found had remains of colour upon them, blue, red, and yellow. Blue formed the ground, red delineated the outline of the enrichment, and yellow covered the broad surfaces of the enrichment.

By the month of March, 1871, I had laid bare a considerable part of the pavement of the temple, and the land-owners came to me for compensation. By the terms of my firman, I was obliged to obtain leave from the land-owners to dig on their land. With the assistance of Mr. Xenophon Alexarchi, our Consul at Scala Nova, I managed to arrange this weighty matter of purchase in the course of two days, seven hours each day being spent at the Konak; and I came away the happy possessor of eight acres of land at Ephesus, which comprised the site of the temple, and a considerable amount of land on the south and east sides of it. The cost was little more than £160. I had been authorized to give £200 if necessary.

The land was purchased in good time, for not long afterwards a hoard of 2,600 coins was found on the site,

only five feet below the present surface of the ground. These coins were chiefly of the fourteenth century, and were of Naples, Rhodes, the Seljuk Emeers, Venice, Genoa, and the Papal States. Perhaps the most interesting of these coins are those struck at Ayasalouk, bearing as they do the word 'Theologos,' which was the mediæval name for Ayasalouk, and going far to prove that St. John's Church was erected at that place.

Some of the foundation-piers of a church, or some other important building, were found within the walls of the cella of the temple on the north side. Towards the east end of the site we discovered the foundations and base of a large monument only eight feet below the present surface. A large Roman sarcophagus and one or two graves were also laid bare near this spot, showing that some centuries after the destruction of the temple, and when the site was silted up to the height of fourteen feet, a Roman cemetery occupied the site.

The season 1870–71 closed on May 10. An area of about 110 feet by 130 feet had been explored to as great a depth as the water standing in the excavations would allow. The heavy rains had been very unfavourable to the excavations. Early in the year 1871 the water stood so high that it was impossible to dig to a greater depth than fifteen feet below the surface, whereas most of the marble débris of the temple was found at an average depth of twenty-two feet. The latter months of the season were therefore employed in digging as deep as possible over a large area, ready for full exploration to the level of the pavement in the autumn, by which time the water would subside.

With the discovery of the base of a column in situ,

the masonry supporting the steps, together with the foundation-piers and walls, which gave me the inter-columniations on the south flank, the remains of the anta in the south-west angle, and some minor discoveries, I was obliged to content myself as the result of the season's operations; and I closed the doors of my magazines and suspended the works on the day I have above named.

My grant from the Trustees had enabled me to employ on an average about one hundred workmen; and the excavations, which had been carried on entirely on the site of the temple during the past season, had made fair progress in spite of the many difficulties attending the work.

I resumed actual work on September 5, 1870, with as many men as I could get together. Thistles and other self-asserting wild vegetation covered the site, and I was disappointed to find water still standing in the excavations to the depth of several feet. On September 14 was found a large block of white marble sculptured on two faces: a female is represented struggling with Hercules. My opinion is that the ninth labour of Hercules is here represented—Hercules taking the girdle of Hippolyte, the Queen of the Amazons. This block is six feet high, and is terminated by part of a rich bed mould. It is an angle stone, and I have thought, from the character of the stone and the position in which it was found, that it was an angle stone of the sculptured frieze of the temple, or that it might have been part of a large external altar, of which there were probably several in the west front.

On September 19 a still more important discovery

was made. This was a large drum of one of the thirty-six sculptured columns described by Pliny as *columnæ cælatæ*. The position in which this was found proved that it was part of one of the sculptured columns of the west front, which was, like the other columns, six feet and half an inch in diameter. It had fallen upon its side, and the side which lay uppermost was to a great extent chopped away, but on raising it on end the remains of five life-size figures were seen. Until this immense block, six feet high, and more than six feet in diameter, was raised to the surface, I had an anxious time of it. For any mischievously disposed person might have chopped all the sculptures off in the course of a single night. It took fifteen men fifteen days to raise it up to the surface, and I put it at once into a temporary wooden case, to protect it from injury.

The principal figure represented on this drum is Hermes, with the caduceus in his right hand, the petasus hanging from his neck behind, and the chlamys twisted round his left arm. He stands nearly erect and looks upward, as if awaiting a message from Zeus. Thanatos, a nude figure, is the next most perfect figure, with large wings closed, and with sheathed sword, but with a melancholy face. An erect female figure, headless and otherwise much damaged, is supposed to represent a goddess, possibly Thetis. The remains of two seated female figures, also headless and much damaged, might have represented two other goddesses, but as the heads and upper parts of the figures are hacked away no one can say whom they represented.

This beautiful unique block of marble now forms the central object in the Ephesian Gallery of the British

Museum. Pliny tells us that Scopas, the famous sculptor in the time of Alexander, was employed on the sculpture of the temple; this drum of a column was probably carved from his design and under his direction, and possibly his hand had given some of its finishing touches. It will be remarked by those who look carefully at objects of art how cleverly these figures in low relief are arranged round the column, and how exquisite is the grace of the figure of Hermes. They will also observe the manner in which the feet of this figure are made to combine with the lower part of the column.

As the excavations proceeded, fresh light from time to time was thrown upon what had taken place on the site of the temple, from the early time when the lowest pavement was laid, up to the time of the Turkish occupation. Sometimes a whole fortnight elapsed, with more than 300 men at work, without a single discovery of consequence taking place. This was of course disheartening, but in excavating there is something of the nature of speculation, and hope was kept alive by the reflection that of such a vast building much must remain of great value.

The pavement of the peristyle of the last temple was seven feet five and half inches above that of the earliest temple. The pavement of the second temple was three feet eleven and a quarter inches above that of the first.

A small portion of the cella wall of the earliest temple was found undisturbed on the south flank and at the west end of the naos. This wall, six feet three inches thick, had served, with the aid of large rough blocks of stone, as the foundations of the last two temples.

Another important discovery was made as the works

proceeded. A great number of the rough piers and walling which had supported the steps on the north side, and a few piers and walling on the south side, were laid bare, the marble Roman pavement beyond the lower step of the stylobate or platform on which the temple was raised, and a considerable length of the step itself in situ. The water subsided in the excavations before the close of the year 1871, and I was able to remove the six feet of débris, and to recover a great number of fragments of the temple. A great number of fragments of the bead and red enrichment of various sizes, with remains of colour upon many of them, gave evidence of the delicacy of the architectural carving. All the angles were acute, so that the arrises were as sharp as a knife, and the very hard nature of the marble used facilitated this kind of workmanship. This marble is unmarketable in England from its hardness. In the mouldings and the flutings of the columns the ellipse was used, as usual with the ancient Greeks; the fillets dividing the flutings were narrow, being no more than one inch. The flutings at the base of the shaft were eight and a quarter inches wide. Altogether the remains of five of the sculptured drums of columns were found, three at the west end and two at the east end. This goes far to prove that there were eighteen at each end, making the thirty-six *columnæ cælatæ* mentioned by Pliny.

The difference of style of the design and carving of the figures of these sculptured columns is most conspicuous. The large drum at the west end and that at the east end had each ten figures in their circumference, and the relief was very low—only four inches. The half drum found at

the west end—of which remain only two figures in very high relief—is of smaller diameter, and could not have had more than five figures on its circumference. The smaller diameter—five feet six and a half inches—favours my opinion that these columns were sculptured to the height of nearly twenty feet, and with three tiers of subjects, divided by bands of mouldings. A further proof that this was the case is the term used by Pliny in describing them, *columnæ cælatæ*. Sculptured columns could hardly be applied to columns sculptured for only six feet in height. One of the drums found at the east end was also of smaller diameter. I cannot with certainty say how many figures were carved upon it, perhaps six or seven. This drum had quite a distinct architectonic character; the figures upon it were alternately sitting and standing, and the stools upon which the figures were seated were designed to mark plainly the circumference of the column.

The other drum at the east end, which had ten figures, is so much hacked that little remains of the figures but drapery; the heads in all cases are missing. The fragment of the fifth sculptured drum, found at the west end, is so small that nothing more can be said of it but that the Persian trouser is conspicuous in it.

I now found part of the base and foundation of one of the inner columns of the peristyle on the north side. Both this column, and the one on the south side of which the base was found, had evidently been allowed to remain standing for some time after the destruction of the temple, as the drums of these columns were found on the surface of about six feet of silt. I removed the stones composing the base of the southern column, and

PART OF SCULPTURED DRUM OF COLUMN NO. 4.

these are re-erected in the British Museum, with a portion of the fluted shaft belonging to it. Now that these important remains had come to light, the Turks began to understand to a certain extent the object of the excavations.

On February 10, I reported to the Trustees that I had cleared out 38,500 cubic yards from the site of the temple, at a total cost of about £4,000. This was about one third of the work required to be done to clear out the whole of the temple site. An average of about 150 men were employed on the excavations in the course of this season, my grant being limited to a fixed amount, which did not admit of the employment of a greater number.

Although by March, 1872, I had been greatly disappointed to find that the early Christians had done their best to destroy every vestige of the temple, I had found sufficient to encourage the hope that the Trustees would apply to the Treasury for another grant to continue the excavations. I estimated that £6,000 would be needed to clear out the whole of the site of the temple, and to a certain distance beyond it. As it was doubtful whether my firman would be renewed, I was ordered to suspend the works at the end of April, or until the firman was renewed.

As the excavations proceeded we re-opened many deep holes which I had sunk on the site of the temple several years before its discovery. These happened to be in places where no remains were discovered to indicate the site, and they had been refilled, according to the conditions of my firman, in order that the land might be cultivated.

On resuming work in September, 1872, near the western

extremity on the north side of the pronaos of the temple, we soon found two large sculptured blocks which might have been the angle and adjoining block of the frieze at the north-west angle, or part of a large altar. Portions of two life-size male figures are carved on one face, and the lifting of Antæus by Hercules seems to be here represented. On the return side of the angle-block there had evidently been a female figure (perhaps Artemis herself) and a deer, of which little remains but the head and antlers.

The Goths are credited with the partial destruction of the last temple, A.D. 260; and some twenty years later the early Christians accomplished its total destruction. After which, at a period unknown, but probably near the close of the third century A.D., they determined to build a church within the cella walls, which had been allowed to remain standing for some feet above the pavement of the earliest temple. The early Christians, before removing what at that time was left standing of the cella walls, built against them massive piers of rubble masonry; when they had proceeded so far, a tremendous earthquake occurred, which, running from south-east to north-west, overthrew several of the foundation-piers, and raised part of the pavement five feet above its original level, with a large mass of the mortar which had been mixed upon it. It was quite evident that they then abandoned the idea of building a church within the cella walls; they therefore proceeded to remove them, and as the piers had been built with large quantities of mortar, the impression of every stone, with its marginal draft and bevilled edge, remained on the piers, and could be easily discerned when the excavations laid them bare. A few cut stones

were found on the site, which had not been used, and were evidently prepared to be put in their respective places in the superstructure as soon as the building was ready for them. Within the cella was found an elliptical Corinthian capital, which I presume had been used in the upper tier of columns decorating the cella in the time of Marcus Aurelius, when probably great alterations were made in the interior. This emperor's name, with that of his wife Faustina and his daughter Fadilla, were found carved in large characters on the lintel of the door at the west end.

Near the west door were found two large blocks of marble, with circular grooves eight inches wide and three and a quarter inches deep; these were doubtless the blocks on which the door turned inward on bronze wheels. Mortice holes for the door-frame were sunk in these blocks. The exact width of the whole door was now ascertained to have been fourteen feet eight and a half inches, in two parts, and they were probably thirty-five feet high. Judging from the present position of these blocks, they must have belonged to one of the last two temples, most probably the last but one. Grooved blocks similar to those here described are to be seen at the Parthenon at Athens and other Greek temples.

By the end of the year 1872, I had removed 70,126 cubic yards from the site of the temple. Early in the month of January, 1873, the water in the excavations had sunk sufficiently to allow us to lay bare large patches of the pavement beyond the steps of the platform, and ten feet lower than the Greek pavement already described. This pavement was Roman; it consisted of large square slabs of white marble three inches thick, laid upon a

foundation composed of red cement three inches thick and rubble masonry twenty-one inches thick. This pavement was probably laid down not long before the destruction of the last temple, as it did not show much wear. I now began to clear away the soil and débris for the distance of thirty feet beyond the lowest step of the platform, where I hoped to find many remains; but I was disappointed, for here was found scarcely a vestige of the building remaining.

Much sickness now prevailed among the men; I preserved my own health by good food, and moderate exercise taken on foot and on horseback. With my horse I was able to explore by degrees the whole plain, without absenting myself for any length of time from the works. The substructures of the ruins of the city are partly inhabited by shepherds, who to each flock have four or five large dogs, which are a great annoyance to travellers on horseback; and the only way to rid oneself of them is to dismount and throw stones at them: one dog is sure to be hit, and he runs away howling, followed by the others in sympathy. The dogs of the Yourooks (a wandering tribe) are also troublesome; but these people are generally at hand, and call off the dogs. One evening I was returning with some ladies from an expedition to the sea-side, and on our way we passed near the black tents of the Yourooks in the forum, and were admiring the scenery, when a fierce dog rushed forward to attack us; his young mistress, however, called him away; he at once returned to her side, and she put her foot upon his back to prevent his annoying us. She was a beautiful girl, and as she stood with her foot upon the dog's back, her hands busily employed in knitting, her

dress of many bright colours, the whole group stood out against the black tent, and with it formed a picturesque foreground against the landscape, which in its turn was backed by the steeps of Mount Prion.

In January, 1873, I obtained those particulars which I had sought for to confirm the statement of Vitruvius that the temple was octostyle. In an upper stratum of the excavations was found a curious bas-relief in three panels, representing a three days' contest between a man (a Christian perhaps) and a lion. The first and uppermost panel is so far destroyed that the result of the contest is unknown. In the second panel the man appears armed with a thick club, from which the lion receives a blow on the head which probably stuns him, and thus ends the second day. On the third and last day the man falls a victim to the lion's fury; he is on the ground, and the lion tears out his bowels.

During the month of February, 1873, the men were chiefly employed at the east end of the temple, and here another sculptured drum was found. The works were stopped altogether for a few days this month by the intense cold. A sharp frost, a cold wind, and rain, however slight, were each sufficient to suspend work. Very few of the men had a change of clothes, so they generally ran for shelter *en masse* when rain came on, often not waiting for *paidos* to be called.

Some of my Turkish workmen were particularly adroit in throwing up the sand out of the excavations; in digging the trial-holes they would throw a good shovelful of sand and stones out of a hole twelve feet deep. They were very strong, although their food was of the simplest kind. Coarse bread and a little salt fish or olives, black

raisins, and some fruit, such as an orange or an apple occasionally, washed down by copious draughts of the best water they could obtain, constituted their breakfast at eight and their dinner at one o'clock. To their supper, being their most sumptuous meal, were sometimes added snail soup, thistle broth, boiled thistle stalks, dandelion, and other wild vegetables. With this frugal diet their strength was surprising, as proved by the fatigue they endured, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the climate, and the great weights which they raised in their arms or carried on their backs. The Turkish porters in Smyrna, who also live most frugally, often carry from 400 to 600 pounds weight on their backs; and a merchant one day pointed out to me one of his men who had carried an enormous bale of merchandise, weighing 800 pounds, up a steep incline into an upper warehouse.

In 1873 I was detained in England later than usual because the Turkish authorities hesitated to renew my firman; it was at length renewed for another year, on condition that no more firmans should be asked for, and on September 15 I received marching orders. On September 19 we left England, and arrived in Smyrna, October 3, having been detained by unusually tempestuous weather and a cyclone in the Straits of Messina, and having been obliged to avoid Marseilles by fear of quarantine at the end of our voyage.

On October 6 we went out to Ephesus, and a long stretch of more than 100 feet of the lowest step of the platform was now discovered on the north side. This was one of the ten steps described by Philo on which the temple was raised; it was barely eight inches high. A space of six feet leading to this step was found in situ at

the east end. Built upon the step and the masonry adjoining it, we found a circular lime-kiln fifteen feet in diameter, with some lime still remaining in it. Near the lime-kiln was found an immense heap of small marble chippings standing ready to be thrown into the kiln, which had doubtless already swallowed up most of the sculpture of the temple which remained at that time. I have no doubt that this was also the work of the early Christians, who were stopped in their work of building by the earthquake I have already mentioned. The chippings were carefully examined, but very few and very small fragments of sculpture were found in the whole heap.

In October, amongst other fragments of the temple, was found a large fragment of what was probably part of the large central acroterion of the west pediment. Two more sculptured blocks, similar to those I have supposed might have been either portions of the frieze or of a large external altar, were found in November.

A long oak beam much charred was found on the pavement on the north side; this was probably from the roof.

While the excavations were going on we had many visitors, who wished to carry away with them a morsel of the temple as a memento of their visit; and I was often very much perplexed when a visitor, generally a lady, would take up a fragment of enrichment from the temple, and ask leave to take it away with her. It was very disagreeable to refuse, so I hit upon a plan which met the difficulty admirably. In some of the upper strata, and indeed in the lowest stratum of the excavations, were found an immense number of Roman

enriched fragments; these I ordered to be carried up to the top, and they made a large heap, to which I in future referred those of my visitors who wanted a fragment. I was fortunately never asked what they were, or whether they came from the temple; and they were delighted with the *nice little bits* they found in the heap.

One fragment from the temple found about this time was of special interest; it consisted of two astragals (small round mouldings) between which was doubled a narrow strip of thin lead, a strip of gold being inserted in the fold of the lead. Part of the gold had been torn away, but I suppose that originally it turned down and formed a narrow fillet between the astragals. This was the only specimen of the kind found in the whole course of the excavations; but I suppose that a great quantity of gold was used in this manner, and it must have contributed much to the beauty of the temple.

This discovery confirms in a measure the statement of Pliny that at Cyzicus there was a delubrum, or small temple, in which there was a thread or strip (filum) of gold in every joint of the marble; and in the inscription giving the accounts for the building of the Erectheum there is an item of so much gold-leaf purchased for gilding certain ornaments.

Several fragments of sculpture, including part of a female arm, and another with the elbow, both from figures about eleven feet high, were found at the west end of the temple, and had probably formed part of the sculpture in the tympanum of the pediment at that end; the toe of a colossal figure was found at the east end, and was probably from the pediment at that

end. A large plain block of marble from the pediment shows that the angle of the roof was 17°.

A fragment of the lowest step of the platform was now found at the east end; this was a most important discovery, as it fixes the limit of the temple at that end, although it may not give the length of the platform with certainty, as no part of the step was found at the west end, and Pliny's dimension of 425 feet may be correct for aught I know to the contrary.

The unusual dryness of the season favoured the exploration down to the level of the pavement, below which the water sank sufficiently low to enable us to rescue a great number of important architectural fragments that rested upon the Roman pavement beyond the steps. Some large lions' heads from at least two of the three temples were found here. On close examination of the foundations of the base of the inner column on the north side, I found three of the stones of the base of the earliest temple; there was not sufficient left for me to obtain the exact diameter, but I believe the columns of that temple were of a larger diameter. I also found that the foundations of this column were placed upon a thin layer of red cement to keep the damp from rising.

At the distance of thirty feet ten inches from the lowest step of the platform was found the kerb of a portico twenty-five feet two inches wide, remains of which were found on both flanks of the temple, and which probably surrounded it on all sides. And on the south side were found considerable remains of a Grecian Doric building at a little distance beyond the portico on the south side. On the pavement of the portico on the south side, I had

the good fortune to find a large fragment of the cymatium of the great cornice of the temple; this is beautifully enriched with the conventional Greek honeysuckle, in high relief. A length of nearly 350 feet of this beautiful feature, studded frequently with lions' heads more than two feet wide, must have had a fine effect in conjunction with the remainder of the cornice.

With the opening of the year 1874 came great disappointment and vexation. On January 2, Mr. Newton came to Smyrna, and even before visiting the works he expressed his opinion that they had now better be stopped, as they had not been very productive during this season, and he feared that sufficient would not be found to justify further explorations. In this view I did not concur; but he urged immediate suspension of the works; and being unable to persuade him to the contrary, they were forthwith suspended by telegram, much to the amazement and confusion of the poor workmen, who were so suddenly and prematurely discharged.

The next day Mr. Newton accompanied me to Ephesus. We found about one hundred and fifty of the discharged workmen assembled on the platform of the station, awaiting our arrival, who hoped they might still be employed. A visit to the excavations did not induce Mr. Newton to alter his opinion, so with a sore heart I paid the men and discharged all but twenty, whom I retained to go on for a while longer with the excavations at the east end of the temple, and with the further exploration of the Doric building already mentioned; the latter was done at the express wish of Mr. Newton. Of this building I can give no satisfactory account, as my means would not permit sufficient exploration. I had now only

the amount (about £200) to spend which the sale of my plant might realise.

At the east end of the temple we found an ancient well; this we carefully cleared out. Sometimes treasure is found in wells, but in this case we only found a little valueless pottery, sand, and stones. On the north side of the temple, we found a beautiful cameo of a winged figure. As the water in the excavations now stood at a remarkably low level, we were able to clear out the cella, where we found a number of fragments of some interest—these were part of an enriched Roman frieze—a fine lion's head, part of a statue belonging probably to one of the earliest temples, as it was of a decidedly archaic character; also some fragments of sculpture and architectural enrichment below the level of the pavement. A great number of fragments, large and small, of the marble tiles of the roof were found scattered all over the pavement.

Bearing in mind Pliny's description of the precautions taken in laying the foundations of the temple to prevent the damp rising, viz. by laying a bed of charcoal, and over that placing fleeces of wool, I sunk with the aid of the pump four deep holes, one inside the cella against the west wall, one outside against the south wall, one near the centre of the cella, and one under the peristyle at some distance from the cella wall on the north side. In the holes sunk close to the cella walls I found, at the depth of 5 feet 9 inches, a layer 4 inches thick of a composition which had the appearance and consistency of glazier's putty; below this was a layer of charcoal 3 inches thick, and below that, another layer of the putty-like composition 4 inches thick. We made an

effort to get out a cutting of the whole mass, but it was impossible, the water ran in almost as fast as we pumped it out, and I could only obtain a few small examples of the composition and charcoal. The composition was analyzed by Mr. Matthieson, and it was found to consist of carbonate of lime 6591, silica 2610, water, &c. (volatile) 455, nitrogen, a trace; so that, in point of fact, we have here nothing but a species of mortar. Below all this, I came upon the natural soil, which was alluvial, and was composed of sand and small water-worn stones of irregular form. The foundations of the walls consisted of rather small stones, and there was an offset of 3 feet on the inner side, which made the foundations very wide and substantial.

In consultation with Mr. Newton, it was finally decided to take to pieces and examine the whole of the foundation piers of the church. In doing this, which was to a certain extent accomplished by the aid of gunpowder in small quantities, we found a great number of fragments of an archaic frieze which had probably belonged to the great altar of the first temple. Also many fragments of architectural enrichment, a Greek inscription, a small archaic head of very remarkable character, as it was attached to a rounded surface, and this with another fragment of the lower part of a male figure also attached to a rounded surface had most probably formed parts of a sculptured column from the earliest temple. An archaic lion's head, probably from the second temple, which formed a gargoyle, is one of the most interesting things found in taking down these piers.

A large block of sculptured marble found at the west end of the temple represented a winged male figure

leading a ram. This was probably from one of the altars in front of the temple. Part of a large boar's head found in the cella was probably of the same period as the lion's head, which I have assigned to the last temple.

The lowest marble pavement, of which quite one-half remains outside the cella walls, and which is 7 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches below the pavement of the peristyle of the last temple, was evidently that of the earliest temple. This pavement continued on the same level throughout the cella, and there was no step up at the door.

We had most lovely weather for our work during January, which is one of the most pleasant months in the year in Asia Minor, being bright without glare. February brought cold weather, and many a day the men were unable to work. In March the cold increased, the saws which we used to saw off inscriptions were found in the morning frozen in the stones, if not removed at night, and warm water was used in working them. Ice an inch thick stood in the excavations for a whole week; for many days my men could not work. The intensity of the cold in the interior was so great that shepherds and others were found frozen to death; others were brought frost-bitten and helpless into the hospitals at Smyrna.

As soon as the works could be resumed, I took on twenty more men, and with the forty men I now had I worked on till my funds were quite exhausted. On March 27 I reported to the Trustees that I had cleared out and thoroughly examined 132,220 cubic yards, nearly the whole of which had been wheeled out from the site. I had received orders to sell my plant and suspend operations. My carts and horses were

bought by Mr. De Cuyper, a gentleman who was engaged in mining operations: with the horses my faithful Nubian groom Billal must go; he was most unwilling to go before we left, but stern necessity obliged him to yield, and the poor man, who had served me faithfully for eight years, wept bitterly when he came to say good-bye, his heart having been touched by the kindness of his mistress. Mr. De Cuyper also engaged about a dozen of my workmen; these men had been with me for years, and they would not be persuaded to leave before we left, although they thus sacrificed five or six days' wages; they said they could not go, they had their clothes to wash. So there are a few men even among the '*unspeakable*' Turks who have kind and impressible hearts, and here is a small tribute to their honour.

On March 25 the works were finally suspended, much to my regret, as I feel sure we have left much of interest and value behind us beyond the margin of the present excavations.

Notwithstanding the comparatively barren results of the season 1873–74, I had twenty-three cases and sixty-three blocks of marble ready to send home. As there was no ship-of-war bound for either Malta or England, this last batch of antiquities was put on board a merchant vessel bound for England. Admiral Randolph, who happened to be with his ship in the port of Smyrna, kindly assisted me in this by the supply of men, boats, and tackle. Having seen this done we left for England, viâ Constantinople, on board H.B.M.'s ship Cockatrice. It will readily be believed that we did not leave either Smyrna or Ephesus without heartfelt regret, after so many years' sojourn. As we left Ephesus, feeling it was

probably for ever, we looked back frequently at the beautiful scene which had had such a fascination for us, and which had been for so many years associated with our united labours.

My wife's best exertions had been used in doing all she could to alleviate the sufferings of the workmen and villagers, and her skill and care were proved by the fact that of hundreds of workmen only two or three were obliged to be sent down to Smyrna to be treated in the hospitals by skilled doctors. The workmen and villagers, though they anxiously sought Mrs. Wood's aid, stood modestly waiting by the wayside as she passed between our home and the works. As for me, the task I had set myself had been accomplished. The situation, plan, and particular characteristics of the long-lost temple had been discovered, and all that remained of it within the area explored had been secured for our national collection of antiquities.

At Smyrna, where for so many years we had experienced so much kindness, we parted from our friends with deep regret; cheered, however, by the hope that we should one day return and see them all again, and perhaps renew the work so abruptly stopped: for had we not drunk freely of the Fasoolah water[1]?

The whole cost of the excavations at Ephesus from 1863 to 1874 was £16,000—£12,000 of which amount were spent on clearing out the temple site.

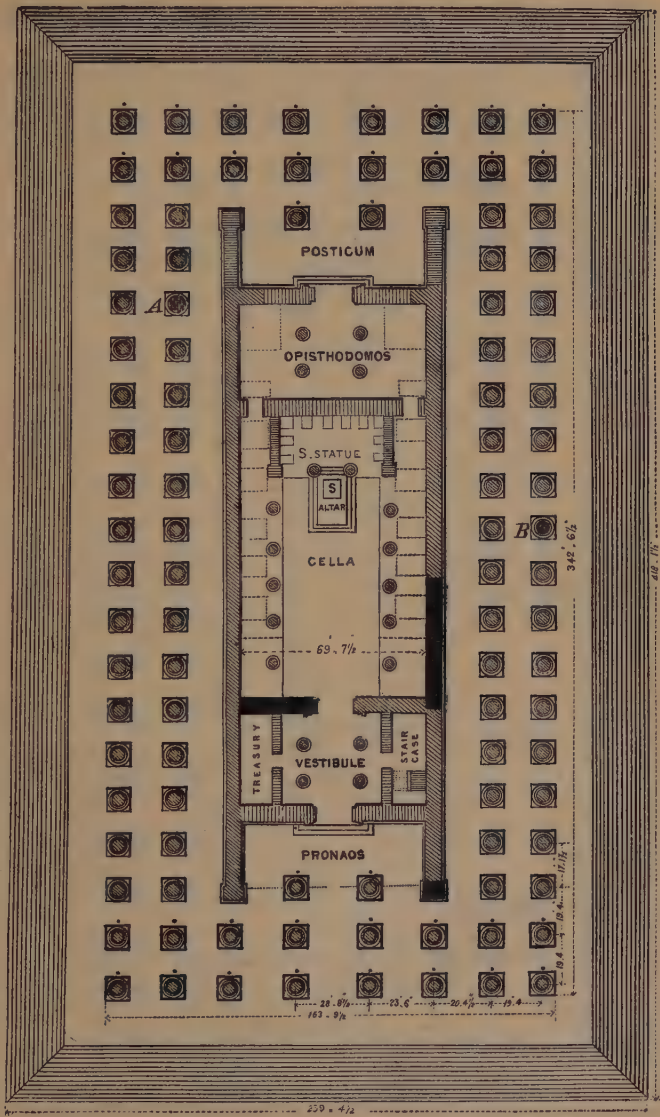
[1] They say in Smyrna that all who drink of the water of this spring are sure to return to Smyrna sooner or later. The fact is that all people who have for any length of time breathed the fresh light air of Smyrna, and have found kind friends among the inhabitants, are glad to return, if only for a few days.

CHAPTER V.

Description of the Original Temple of Diana.

The platform on which the temple was raised, called by Pliny *universum templum*, was 239 feet 4½ inches in width, measured on the lowest step. The exact length cannot be given for want of sufficient data, but if the distance from the lowest step to the portico at the west end is the same as it has been ascertained to be at the east end and on the north and south sides, the length was 418 feet 1½ inches. If, however, there was a wider space at the west end, as I now believe there was, to allow of a larger area for the gathering together of worshippers, and for the altars which probably stood there, it is possible that Pliny's dimension of 425 feet was correct, although his dimension of the width is quite irreconcilable in any reasonable manner with the facts now ascertained.

There was a flight of ten steps, as described by Philo, up to the pavement of the platform; and these steps were 19 inches wide, and barely 8 inches high. Three more steps, 11 inches high, led up to the pavement of the peristyle, which was probably on the same level as



PLAN OF TEMPLE OF DIANA OF EPHESUS.

that of the pronaos. Then there were probably three more steps at the door—of these we have no data. We have here, therefore, what was most probable, a temple with its ordinary three deep steps, raised upon a platform approached by ten steps.

The temple itself was 163 feet 9½ inches in width from face to face of columns, and 342 feet 6½ inches in length. It was octostyle, having eight columns in front, as described by Vitruvius, and dipteral, having two ranks of fluted columns in the peristyle. These columns were 100 in number, 6 feet 0½ inch in diameter, and 55 feet 8¾ inches high, including the base. The latter dimension is computed from the description of Vitruvius, that the *improved* Ionic Order was employed, viz. eight and a half diameters in height exclusive of the base. This accords near enough with Pliny's dimension for the height of the columns, viz. 60 Roman feet. The Roman foot was about one-third of an inch shorter than the English foot.

Pliny describes thirty-six of the hundred columns as *cælatæ* (sculptured), and I have no doubt they occupied the positions shown on my plan of the temple, viz. eighteen at each extremity, as I found remains of them at the east end as well as at the west end. The data at present in our possession do not enable me to state with certainty to what height the sculpture of these *columnæ cælatæ* was carried up. A medal of Hadrian distinctly represents one tier of figures only, with a band of mouldings above it.

The medal of Gordianus II, published in Professor T. L. Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica*, gives a similar representation, but the band of moulding is much

higher up the shaft of the column. Of the five examples of these sculptured columns now in our possession, the diameter of three of the *frusta* or 'drums' can be clearly ascertained. Of these three, two measure the same at

THE MEDAL OF GORDIANUS II.

the base as the lowest drums of the fluted columns, viz. 6 feet $0\frac{1}{2}$ inch, the third measures only 5 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the upper diameter. This would make it appear that the sculpture was carried up to the height of about 20 feet, probably for three tiers of sculpture,

divided by bands of mouldings. I am very much inclined to think that the sculpture was carried up to the height named; for in addition to the fact of the much smaller diameter of one of the drums, the term *columnæ*

THE MEDAL OF HADRIAN.

cælatæ would not so well apply to columns having sculpture at their base only. Above the sculpture, to whatever height it was carried, the columns were no doubt fluted.

Some fragments of dedicatory inscriptions, deeply

incised, were found on the torus moulding of the base of one or two of the outer columns of the peristyle on the north side, and one of these shows that that particular column was the gift of a woman of Sardis. The whole of the columns were probably the gifts of either kings, communities, or individuals. The twenty-seven columns, gifts of kings or royal personages mentioned by Pliny, were in all likelihood sculptured.

The intercolumniations (dimension from centre to centre of columns) were on the flanks of the temple 17 feet 1½ inches, excepting the two outer intercolumniations at each extremity, where they were increased to 19 feet 4 inches, to allow, I suppose, for the projection of the sculpture on the columns, which in one of the examples found was as much as thirteen inches.

The spacing of the columns in front deserves particular attention. Vitruvius, in his book dedicated to Augustus, describes the intercolumniations in front of a temple as equal, excepting only the central one, which was much wider than the others, to allow the statue within the temple to be seen from the road through the open door. But I found that there was in the temple of Diana a beautifully harmonious gradual diminution of the intercolumnar spacing from the central to the outer one, which made the extra width of the central intercolumniation quite unobjectionable. I believe Mr. Dennis found a similar arrangement at the temple of Cybele at Sardis.

The dimensions are respectively—27 feet 8½ inches, 23 feet 6 inches, 20 feet 4½ inches, and 19 feet 4 inches, the latter dimension corresponding with the two outer intercolumniations on the flanks.

The outer ordinary columns of the peristyle had twenty-four elliptical flutings 8¼ inches wide at the lower diameter, and intermediate fillets one inch wide. The inner columns of the peristyle had twenty-eight elliptical flutings with fillets barely one inch wide.

Vitruvius describes the inner columns of the peristyles of temples as having '*thirty*' flutings. To beautify the exterior of the temple, statues on pedestals were probably placed between the columns and against the walls of the cella.

The cella or naos of the temple was 70 feet wide, and it was doubtless hypæthral or open to the sky. There are several theories in these days as to what the hypæthron of the Greeks really was; but I have taken the word in its literal sense—'under the sky,' and I suppose that it must have been an opening in the roof, like the circular opening in the roof of the Pantheon at Rome, but in this case rectangular and oblong; and the goddess, as the Greeks believed hovering in the air above the temple, would enjoy the sweet savour of the burning offering; see Leviticus ix.

The foundations for the altar, 20 feet square, found in situ, were sufficient for the statue of the goddess also; and I presume the statue stood immediately behind the altar.

The statue of the goddess, which was said to have 'fallen from Jupiter' (Acts xix.), was probably a large aerolite, such as are found in Norway, and which, shaped by a sculptor of the day, might have been pieced out and made to assume a form similar to the well-known

statues in the Museo Reale at Naples and at the Museum at Monreale near Palermo.

The works of Phidias and Praxiteles with which the altar was said to abound, in addition to decorating the altar itself, probably enriched a recessed space behind the altar, which was capable of displaying a number of statues on pedestals as well as bas-reliefs on the walls.

The roof was covered with large white marble tiles, of which many fragments were found, as well as of the circular cover tiles. Unfortunately, the size of the flat tiles can only be ascertained approximately, by the probable distance apart of the lions' heads in the cymatium; if I am correct in this, they were about 4 feet wide, the circular, or rather elliptical, tiles covering the joints were faced with an imbrex or antifixa 10½ inches wide.

Such then was the famous building which ranked as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The excavations brought to light the fact that its dimensions were not so enormous as they had been believed to be. Pliny's term, *universum templum*, had misled everyone; instead of its applying to the temple itself, it was intended to apply to the platform upon which it was raised. Here, therefore, was a great disappointment.

There is much reason for congratulation in even the scanty remains which have been secured. The main problem is now solved, the actual size of the building has been ascertained, and the style of adornment by sculpture is no longer a secret. We know now from numerous fragments that colour was extensively used

COLUMNS AND ENTABLATURE, WEST, TEMPLE OF DIANA.

as well as gold, and although it is not in our power in the present day to appreciate the beauty of a painted building, as we do not understand the use of colour in a building like the temple, we must take it for granted that a building of exquisite beauty and proportion was the result of the united efforts of architect, sculptor, and painter. In its details, the refined conic section, the ellipse, was used for the flutings and mouldings.

The earliest of the three temples of which remains were found was commenced B.C. 480 by Ctesiphon and his son Metagenes, and completed by Demetrius, a priest of Diana, and Pæonius an Ephesian. This temple was destroyed early in the fifth century B.C., and was succeeded by another built on the same site. The architect's name has not been handed down to us, but we know that it was destroyed by Erostratus on the day Alexander was born, B.C. 356. The third and last temple, which was building in the time of Alexander, and which must have made great progress at the time he visited Ephesus, as he offered to pay all the expenses of its completion, if he were allowed to dedicate the temple to Artemis in his own name; this the enthusiastic Ephesians would not allow. The architect of the temple was Dinocrates, a Macedonian.

It has been suggested that the marble with which the temple was built came from the quarries in Mount Coressus; but there is no marble there, nor is there in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple any trace of a large marble quarry, such as would have furnished the material of which the temple was built. I believe myself that the marble came from Cosbounar, where

there is a very large quarry of marble similar to that of which the temple was built. This quarry is between five and six miles from the temple, and if we read *passuum* for *pedum* in the description of the temple by Vitruvius, 5,000 double paces of 5 feet would extend to about the same distance.

CHAPTER VI.

The Christian Antiquities of Ephesus.

In order to understand the ruins of Christian buildings at Ephesus, it is necessary to trace briefly the origin and progress of Christianity in that city. Now we know from Bible testimony that Ephesus was one of the seven cities in Asia Minor, where Christian churches were established in early Christian times; and that even before St. Paul's conversion, which took place A.D. 36, there were many Christians in these cities, as well as *in Judæa and Galilee, and in Samaria*, in which places we are told the churches *had rest* on the suspension of that relentless and uncompromising persecution of which Saul of Tarsus had put himself at the head. Paul's first visit to Ephesus was with Priscilla and Aquila, who accompanied him thus far on his journey from Corinth to Jerusalem; on this occasion, short as his visit was, he went into the synagogue and reasoned with the Jews; but he probably remained at Ephesus only for a single day, or only during the short time that the vessel he sailed in discharged part of its cargo. (See Acts xviii. 18–28 and ix. 31.)

The nineteenth chapter of the Acts gives a most graphic and interesting account of St. Paul's success at Ephesus

during a sojourn of nearly three years; he taught Christianity in the synagogue of the Jews, and in the school of one Tyrannus; his teaching convinced many, and even they who practised as magicians, and so obtained their livelihood, brought their books together and burnt them publicly; this took place probably in the forum, on one side of which is the great theatre, where the disturbance took place, which arose from the fears of Demetrius, the maker of silver shrines for the temple of Diana. So great was the tumult, and such were the fears for St. Paul's safety, that he was persuaded by his friends, as well as by some of the chief men of the city, not to enter into the theatre, and he was obliged to leave Ephesus immediately after. On the departure of St. Paul, Christianity probably received a severe check by a reaction in favour of the worship of Diana; great indeed must have been the enthusiasm of her worshippers who cried out, for the space of two hours, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' for they were not even inspired by the sight of the temple itself, as it was not visible from the theatre.

The long Salutarian inscription found on one of the walls of the southern passage into the theatre, and which was inscribed in the time of Trajan, about A.D. 104, describes in detail a number of these shrines, probably similar to those made by Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen. The shrines described in this inscription, and numbering more than thirty, were of gold and silver, weighing from three to seven pounds each, and represented figures of Artemis with two stags, and a variety of emblematical figures; these were voted to Artemis, and were ordered to be placed in her temple. This

inscription bears interesting testimony to the truth of the particulars recorded in the Acts, as well as to the popularity of the worship of Artemis about half-a-century after St. Paul's departure.

As numerous decrees of the council and the people were found in the excavations at Ephesus, it is very probable that a decree was issued after the disturbance in the theatre, forbidding the preaching of the Gospel by St. Paul and others; and this may account for St. Paul's afterwards passing on to Miletus, without touching at Ephesus, on the occasion of his next visit to Jerusalem.

Eusebius, writing in the fourth century, tells us that St. Luke was born at Antioch in Syria, but he does not say in what condition of life; he is described by St. Paul as Luke *the beloved physician*; but this might have been an appellation bestowed upon him as a distinction for some knowledge, however slight and superficial, of the practice of medicine. We first hear of him in the New Testament[1] when he joins St. Paul at Troas, and accompanies him into Macedonia. St. Luke, who was the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, suddenly adopts the use of the first person plural in chapter xvi., the inference being that he then joined company with St. Paul at Troas. He thus journeyed as far as Philippi, and on St. Paul leaving that place, St. Luke resumes the use of the third person; St. Luke, therefore, might either have remained at Philippi, or might have proceeded to some other place. In chapter xx. 5, we are informed that St. Luke again joined St. Paul's company at Philippi;

[1] Acts xvi. 10.

but it is doubtful whether he had remained there during the whole seven years of St. Paul's absence, viz. from A.D. 51–58. St. Luke accompanied St. Paul through Miletus, Tyre, and Cæsarea to Jerusalem. The last we hear of him in the New Testament is that he accompanied St. Paul to Rome[1].

The Greek Menæa says that he lived to the age of eighty. Epiphanius says that he preached in Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy, and Macedonia. Gregory Nazianzen makes Achaia the theatre of his preaching. Gaudentius, Bishop of Brescia, writing in the fifth century, spoke of St. Luke as a martyr, and says that he suffered at Patras.

One of the most interesting buildings associated with Christianity in Ephesus is the so-called tomb of St. Luke, which I suppose was contemporaneous with the earliest predominance of Christianity at Ephesus, and with some of the churches, the remains of which are to be found within the city. The building which I presume is the tomb of St. Luke, is of white marble, circular on plan, and 50 feet in diameter; it was adorned by sixteen columns, which were raised upon a lofty basement, a large portion of which remains in situ, as well as one of the door-posts, upon the front of which were carved two panels; the upper one contains a large cross, the lower one the figure of a bull or buffalo of the country, with a small cross over its back. On the side of the same door-post there are the remains of the figure of a man, which has been almost entirely chopped away; the nimbus, however, which encircled or surmounted the head, having been incised, remains perfect,

[1] Acts xxviii. 11–16.

and this figure is perhaps of itself sufficient evidence that this building was the tomb or shrine of a saint or martyr; and the bull, being the emblem of St. Luke, informs us what saint was represented by the figure; the opposite door-post had a large cross in a sunk

DOOR-JAMB, ST. LUKE'S TOMB.

panel. I have supposed that this building was of the latter end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, and I presume that the early Christians of that time were allowed to remove the remains of St. Luke from their original burial-place outside the city to this place of honour within the city; it would not be an

ancient tradition, little more than 200 years, and the saint's first burial-place would be well known to the early Christians.

The building, moreover, stood within a quadrangle more than 150 feet square, which was surrounded by a portico, and was paved with thin marble slabs, under some of which were found graves; these I take to be a further proof of the nature of the building which they surrounded; they were probably Christian graves, and it is well known that the early Christians would pay large sums of money for the privilege of being buried near a saint or martyr. At the time that I discovered this tomb, I was anxious to obtain historical proof of St. Luke's death at Ephesus, and for this purpose I sought an interview with the Greek Archbishop of Smyrna, who, in reply to my inquiries, took down the books of two ancient Greek writers, one of whom related that St. Luke was hung at Patras, the other that he died at Ephesus; I unfortunately took no note of the names of the writers, and I have not since been able to find any account of St. Luke's death at Ephesus.

There seems to be no authentic account extant of St. Luke's life after his sojourn at Rome, or of the place or manner of his death. It seems not unlikely, with the evidence now before us, that he might have ended his days peacefully at Ephesus, and that he was buried outside the city, and that his remains were removed and entombed as I have suggested; but even if he had died at Patras, his remains might have been removed to Ephesus. It has been argued that this building might have been a pagan monument originally, adapted in later times as a Christian shrine; that the

figure of the bull or buffalo is to be seen on coins of Asia Minor; that the building might have been a polyandrion; but the style of the architecture, which is certainly not earlier than the latter end of the third century, is sufficient to prove to the contrary.

We now come to the churches, remains of many of which may now be seen at Ephesus. The most remarkable of these is the double church on the north side of the forum. Each church consisted simply of a long nave, which was terminated by an apse at the east end; this was flanked by two chambers, which were probably the prothesis and diaconicum. I have supposed that this church might have been erected as early as the beginning of the fourth century, or even earlier. The edict of Diocletian, which is attributed to the year 302, ordering the destruction of churches, proves that such buildings then existed. Basilicas, or halls of justice, we know, were converted into churches, and churches were built after the same model.

There are remains of two other churches within the city: one of these is near the tomb of St. Luke, and might have been dedicated to him; the other is on the side of the mountain on the south side of the forum; of this little remains beyond the apsidal end.

The rock-cut church on the east side of Mount Coressus is outside the city, and is said to have been dedicated to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. The whole of this church is cut out of the solid rock, excepting only the roof and a portion of the east wall.

Considerable remains of a church were found in excavations on the hill at Ayasalouk: this was, perhaps, St. John's Church, and was in existence when the

Council of Bishops assembled in the year 431 A.D. A cathedra, or raised marble seat for the presiding bishop, was found in its original position. Over these remains the Greeks built a church during the time I was carrying on my work, and Sundays and Saints' days were duly observed.

In following the road between the Magnesian gate and the temple, I discovered many large marble sarcophagi, several of which had the labarum, shown on p. 39, and other Christian emblems cut upon their covers; some of these, judging from the style of the inscriptions, were probably of the fourth century. In these sarcophagi nothing but skeletons were found.

In the same road a Christian tombstone of a peculiar character was found. It consisted of a large cross, with a female figure behind it, the head of the figure appearing above the cross, and the drapery flanking it on both sides.

A Christian tomb, composed of thin marble slabs, was found in excavations on the hill at Ayasalouk; the characters of the inscription prove that it was as late as the seventh or eighth century.

A hoard of coins found under the Turkish pavement over the site of the temple had amongst them a number with this legend on the obverse, *Moneta que fit in Theologo*, and a seated figure of the Seljuk Saroukhan, holding an orb and sceptre; these must date from 1342–1389. On the reverse is a floreated cross, surrounded by the legend *De mandato Domini ejusdem loci.* Ayasalouk therefore derived its name from St. John, or Ἅγιος Θεολόγος.

A number of the coins found here were issued by the

Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, established at Rhodes, into whose hands Ephesus and Ayasalouk fell in the fourteenth century. I found the cross cut on the posts of the Magnesian gate, and on most of the public buildings in the city. I also found on the piers of a gateway in front of the Great Theatre these short Greek inscriptions—

Χριστιανῶν βασιλέων
πρασίνων
πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη

Εὐσεβέων βασιλέων
πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη

Of the Christian Emperors of the Greek faction, may the years be many.

Of the pious emperors, may the years be many.

CHAPTER VII.

Anecdotes and Incidents connected with the Excavations.

An Illustration of Biblical References.

The removal of the stones from the peribolus wall to the railway station was effected by a bullock-cart drawn by two bullocks, which were yoked to it with some difficulty. One of the animals resisted furiously. The yoke, the goad, and the stony ground of Scripture are all to be found at Ephesus. In ploughing, the bullocks are yoked together, and are driven by a goad or long sharp-pointed rod; while the stony ground pervades the whole of the ruins of the city and suburbs, small fragments of marble being so thick on the ground that it is impossible to avoid slipping on them.

Fall from the Great Theatre.

In the course of the summer of 1866, during which I found it impossible to retain any workmen for a week together, I made a survey of the city, and I measured carefully all the public buildings. In measuring the Great Theatre one day I was taking a dimension with the assistance of my trusty cavass Edrise, and standing

on the outer wall I inadvertently stepped backward; I was nearer the edge of the wall than I thought, so I fell back off the wall into the branches of a tree which fortunately broke my fall of some twenty feet. When my cavass ran up to me I was on my back on the ground panting for breath. The man instinctively did the very thing that was needed at that moment, he pressed his hands firmly on my chest, and in a few minutes I was quite myself again and almost uninjured. So we went on with our work.

A circular mound near the Odeum attracted my attention, and as far as my funds would allow I laid it bare. It was a Roman monument domed over with spurs of masonry large enough for the pedestals of equestrian statues.

Near this building were found the remains of a square Roman building surrounded by a portico, one of the pedestals of which had a dedicatory inscription to Publius Vedius Antoninus by the wool-factors; so this was probably the wool-factors' hall and market. The excavations at this time excited the curiosity of the natives at Tchirkenjee, a village some hundreds of feet above the plain of Ephesus, and they came down in groups of fifteen or twenty men, women, and children, and gazed wonderingly at the buildings I had already exhumed. To their minds there was something of magic in the discovery of buildings which had been buried for centuries. The young women were often very attractive in their simple dress and head-gear, the latter a coloured kerchief; their walk was peculiarly graceful, and their demeanour was modest and pleasing. These people are Greeks, but they speak Turkish only.

Murder at the Great Theatre.

While the excavations at the theatre were going on a murder was committed, the knowledge of which came to me through my ganger, a young Greek of good family, whose conscience would not allow him to keep as a secret what had been told him by the only conscientious Turk then in my employment. The ganger came to me with an air of mystery one Saturday evening, and reminding me that I had been up into the theatre that day, asked me if I had smelt anything unpleasant there. I had done so, and concluded that it was caused by a dead snake or some other creature. 'No, sir,' said the ganger, in a solemn voice, 'it's a dead man, one who has been killed by some of our men; Osman told me of it.' I commended the young man for reporting the murder to me, when he said he was sure I would not allow it to pass without inquiry. It was, of course, my duty to ascertain if possible how and by whom the murder had been committed, both to punish the guilty and protect the innocent. I had at that time seventy men, and this man, Osman, was the only man who retired at midday to say his prayers; the others ridiculed him for his piety.

I told my ganger that I must investigate this matter of the murder, and I ordered him to have four men at the theatre with picks and shovels at nine in the morning. When, however, the morning came the rain came down in such torrents that it was quite impossible to venture out and exhume the body of the murdered man. Towards evening, however, the weather cleared, and I had had time for reflection. It now occurred to me that it

would be injudicious to undertake the investigation of the murder without the presence of the Mudir of the district, who lived at Tchirkenjee, a village on the side of the mountain west of Ephesus. I therefore rode up to see the Mudir, and told him of the murder; he at once offered to accompany me to Ayasalouk with three Zaptiehs. As it was Sunday evening, many of my men, who had spent most of the day in the cafés at Ayasalouk, were still there as we approached the village, so in order not to give them warning of our approach in force, we entered by several routes, and in this manner caught a number of the men. These we took and left at the Konak in charge of the Zaptiehs of Ayasalouk. We then provided ourselves with a quantity of strong rope, which we cut into long lengths, each sufficient to tie five or six men together by their waists. We then proceeded to the sleeping-places of the men amongst the ruins, which were chiefly in some arched substructure of the ancient public buildings.

These we readily found under the guidance of one of the men, but it was quite dark on our arrival there. We found them in gangs of five or six, and we took them prisoners without resistance; and by the time we arrived at the theatre we had made thirty-seven prisoners, with those found in the village. One of the men pointed out the spot where the body would be found, and two of the best workmen were set to work to remove the stones which had been thrown in over the body, which had been buried deeply. It took fully two hours to remove the stones and to expose to view the body. Meanwhile the men clustered in picturesque groups around the spot, and this weird scene was illuminated by the

flickering red flame of large torches which we had brought with us.

The murder had been committed on Tuesday; it was now Sunday. The worms had taken possession of the body; it was a horrible sight, and as I stood or sat over the spot for the whole time the men were at work, I felt that if I never had fever again I could certainly never run a greater risk. Evidence had now been acquired that a murder had really been committed, and nothing could now be done but to cover up the body, this time with earth as well as stones. Then we all marched off solemnly and silently to Ayasalouk, where the men must remain for the night. I led the way, as I best knew the numerous pitfalls I had dug all over the plain. On the following morning the Mudir and Zaptiehs took their thirty-seven prisoners to Scala Nova (Neapolis), where they were brought before the Kaimachan. After the lapse of several days, as my men did not return, I rode over to Scala Nova with the Mudir, to ascertain what had been done. I arrived at the time that the Kaimachan and Medjilis were sitting.

After hearing my account of the murder, and our proceedings at Ephesus in respect of it, the men were called in; it was not easy to accommodate so many men in a court of rather small dimensions, but they finally ranged themselves on one side in two long lines, and the Kaimachan requested me to call their names, to which they were told to answer. I then asked whether any clue had been found to the murderer, as he must be known to many of the men. The Kaimachan had discovered nothing, and he asked me if I suspected any one of them. This was a difficult question for me to

answer. I had indeed suspected one of the men for two reasons; my ganger had named him with great distrust, and he was the only man who had attempted to make his escape when we searched the cafés at Ayasalouk. I could not, however, denounce the man on such slight grounds, and I was obliged to give an evasive answer, to the effect that I had trusted them all, one as much as another, as I had been down in deep holes with most of them, and had even paid them their wages in such holes from a large bag full of silver, and no one had taken advantage of me. The man I had most reason now to suspect had dug the deepest holes, and, because he was fearless, had been employed for some time exclusively on that work. As I pressed the Kaimachan to let me have my men, he consented on condition that if he sent for any one of them I should allow him to go.

The men had been sent out of court during the latter part of our conversation, so I asked leave to go to their prison and announce to them that they were free to go with me to Ephesus. I was shown down into a filthy court-yard, where the men passed the day, and where they were now assembled; they had been housed in an equally filthy stable, into which I looked, but did not attempt to enter, from fear of disagreeable consequences. When I expressed my disgust at their having been so foully lodged, they showed their appreciation of my sympathy by an appropriate and expressive murmur; when I told them that they would be allowed to accompany me to Ephesus, and that I should start from the market-place in one hour's time, they shouted for joy, and at the appointed time they all came to meet me. For a long distance our journey was by the sea-shore; here the

younger men gamboled, and ran and splashed one another, and many of them kept pace with my horse, which I rode at varying speed in order to encourage their frolic; and before we reached our destination I allowed a number of them to pass me, and they on their arrival assembled on a little knoll past which I had to ride, and they cheered me as I went on to Ayasalouk.

Blind Guides at Ephesus.

Visitors to Ephesus who put themselves under the guidance of guides to the ruins are sometimes amused at the stories of these ignorant men. A gentleman one day engaged one of these men to take him round the ruins, not caring to ask him for information which he thought he could not give him; but on arriving at the theatre my friend, for the sake of saying something to the old man, remarked, 'So this is the theatre?' 'No! this,' looking toward the auditorium, 'was a school for little boys. This was the theatre,' turning toward the proscenium. The poor man had evidently heard of the school of Tyrannus, which had been alluded to by some guide-book then recently issued. The guides who come with parties from Smyrna are even more ignorant and less conscientious than this old man at Ayasalouk, none of them having taken the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the various points of interest; and they make incorrect statements about the few things they pretend to explain. They also hurry visitors unnecessarily, bringing them back to Ayasalouk long before the train starts.

A WOULD-BE ASSASSIN.

I had great difficulty from time to time in obtaining my full complement of workmen; and on one occasion I employed a man (a cavass out of service) to obtain twenty men. He went away and did not reappear for two days; he then came accompanied by ten men, whom he had picked up in the neighbouring villages, and pretended he had gone a long way for them. There was not a workman among them; they were simply café-loungers. As I had very great need of men, I put on a few of these men, and in settling with the cavass I gave him a medjid; this he threw down upon the table, saying he wanted at least three medjids. As I refused to give him more, he muttered ugly threats of vengeance, and was about to leave the room, but turned back and took the medjid, in accepting which, according to the custom of the country, he could make no further claim. The station-master told me that the man had told him all that had occurred, and that he had proposed to go to a café with him and spend Mr. Wood's medjid, that he did not care now for money, it was blood he would take. I took the precaution, therefore, of arming myself with my revolver; and as I rode home alone in the evening from the theatre, where my men were then at work, I kept a sharp look-out for my enemy, especially as I passed through the cemetery, where the underwood afforded an opportunity of ambush. A week passed in this manner, and he one evening came into a café where the station-master happened to be at the time, and throwing his gun down on the floor with an oath, he

said he had not been able to get a shot at me. Mr. Cumberbatch, the English Consul, hearing of these threats, thought that I ought not to run any further risk, the man appearing to be in earnest, so one of the consular cavasses was sent to Ayasalouk, and, with the aid of a Zaptieh, he captured my enemy, who was taken down to Smyrna, and was eventually banished. The incident did not end here. A cousin of the banished man came up to my room one day soon after, and asked me why I had had his cousin banished. I replied, 'Perhaps you are not aware that your cousin threatened to take my life, and had said himself that he had laid in wait for me for a whole week.' The man did not appear satisfied; but although I was told that he had recently taken a man's life for a trifling dispute, and might any day take mine, he did not offer me any violence.

Storks at Ayasalouk.

Every year early in March storks came to Ayasalouk, and built their nests on the piers of the ancient Turkish aqueduct which supplied the town of Ayasalouk. It was difficult to understand all the manœuvres of these curious birds. A single stork at first made his appearance in the morning, as if he had been travelling all night; he apparently did nothing but look about him; he was possibly sent forward to survey the state of the climate and other points of interest to them all, for he disappeared the day after his arrival, and in the course of a day or two a single pair, male and female, would

be seen early in the morning, as if they also had been travelling all night. They took possession of the aqueduct pier, which had the least ruined nest of last year upon it—the one which would give them the least trouble to repair and put in order. But although the old nests appeared to have need of very little work to make them comfortable homes for themselves and the coming family, they were a long time (about three weeks) completing their nests. The male bird went for sticks, twigs, feathers, bits of rag, &c., and in proportion to his success they bent their heads backward and clapped their beaks, to show their satisfaction. They often stood looking at the new acquisition and studying the best means of utilizing it, about which there seemed to be some difference of opinion—not an unusual thing with married couples. There was often a great fight for the best nests, which was partly carried on by swooping down upon one another in turns with their powerful wings, against which it was impossible to stand on the edge of the nest. The clapping of their beaks continued at intervals during day and night. One day, near the Odeum, I saw a stork carry away captive in his beak a large snake, which twisted and wriggled in vain to escape. He doubtless made a very substantial meal for the storks.

Turkish Dandyism.

When I was digging at the Great Theatre the Pasha of Smyrna, who had been told that I had found great treasures and beautiful statues, sent his secretary to

visit the works and report upon them. On an appointed day we therefore went out to Ephesus together. The secretary was effeminate and very dandified, wearing black cloth clothes and patent leather boots, the latter quite unsuitable for the business he had come about. I took him to the edges of the pitfalls I had dug on the road from the station to the theatre, and by the time we reached the theatre he was thoroughly sick of the whole matter, and was glad to refresh himself in the theatre with the lunch I had provided. The result of his visit was that I was left in peace to pursue my explorations undisturbed.

British Sailors at Ephesus.

As all the antiquities selected for export to England were sent to the British Museum, English men-of-war were sent by the Admiralty from Malta to Smyrna to fetch them from time to time. The Terrible, commanded by Captain (now Admiral Sir John) Commerell, was the first that came. Captain Commerell told off twenty-six blue-jackets, of whom two were petty officers, all under the command of Lieutenant Hallett. This was in January and February, 1868, when unusually cold weather had set in; this, however, was favourable to the work. The blue-jackets were all quartered in the large lower room of my house near the railway station. It did not take them long to settle down, fix their cooking-stove, and get everything in 'apple-pie order;' and all but those engaged in preparing the food for supper turned out for a stroll, which they enjoyed very much after the confine-

ment on board ship. I had a long table set with chairs round it, and after they had supped, one of the petty officers presided over the evening's pastime, which consisted of smoking, drinking their grog, and singing songs. Some of their songs were deeply touching and sentimental; one especially was sung with extra sentiment, but it had what 'Jack' would call a 'rousing chorus'; indeed, every song had a chorus, in which, judging from the noise they made, every one must have joined. At ten o'clock they all turned in, and then all was quiet.

To fetch the stones from the ruins I had a strong two-wheeled cart or truck, which was capable of taking two tons at a time. It was really astonishing to see this cart, manned by the sailors, drawn up steep places covered with débris. They surmounted by their energy and determination all obstacles, and in the course of twenty-two days they conveyed to the railway station as many stones as the frigate could take away.

Narrow Escape from Capture by Brigands.

In the spring of the year 1869, while I was tracing the road leading from the Magnesian gate to the temple, it was rumoured at Ayasalouk that a band of thirteen brigands had collected at Cosbouna, a few miles from Ephesus. I had at that time only one cavass as a general servant and body-guard, and I was in the habit of riding twice a day to inspect the trial-holes which my men were sinking in the plain to the north-east of the city. I was habitually unarmed, and I was attended by an unarmed groom. This had evidently been seen by

the brigands from the neighbouring heights, and a day was arranged by them for my capture. It so happened, most fortunately for me, that on that day Mrs. Wood telegraphed to me from Smyrna, asking me to meet the train at Ayasalouk and accompany her to Aidin. I did so, and was therefore absent in the afternoon, when three out of eight brigands who had been lying in wait for me in one of my trial trenches, capable of concealing them, advanced to a hole where one of my men was at work, and looking down, asked, 'Where is Chelebeh?' The workman, looking up and seeing three suspicious-looking strangers, at once suspected their design, and cunningly answered, 'He has gone to Constantinople;' on which they asked, 'How long will he be away?' The man replied, 'Perhaps a month.' The brigands then left, and on my return to Ayasalouk that evening my cavass, groom, and one or two of my workmen met me on the platform, and congratulated me on my escape. The next day, notwithstanding the warning, several petty officers from a British man-of-war accompanied Mrs. Wood and myself round the ruins, but I afterwards took the necessary precaution of adding three more cavasses to my bodyguard, and I armed myself with pistol and dagger. A week or two thus passed. Thus prepared, I ventured to visit the works daily, which were then going on in opening up the peribolus wall at the angle of which the inscriptions were found; and only on one other occasion, to my knowledge, did I have a narrow escape. One day I was inspecting the work, and went down into a deep trench to examine more minutely the inscriptions, and to copy them. While in the trench I found my revolver and belt very warm and oppressive; I relieved myself of them, and

put them down in the trench. After a time I got up out of the trench, and with my back to the barley, which came close up to the place where I stood, was about to give some order, when I observed by the expression of one of my cavasses who were at a little distance from me that some one was behind me. I turned round quickly, and within two paces of me a rough-looking, strange man confronted me. I had been cautioned that I might one day be caught unawares and pinioned by one man coming from an ambush of the whole party. So I was not surprised on seeing this man, who approached me stealthily, but I simply asked him what he wanted there; he said he wanted to see the wall I had laid bare. I ordered him peremptorily to leave the spot, and I saw him fairly off before I settled down to my work again. I of course allowed the ambush of the men in the barley to remain undisturbed. I may here add that barley in Asia Minor attains a height of eight feet when full grown, as it was in this case.

It was into the lair of these brigands that I rode with my cavass when they were at Cosbouna. I had promised Monsieur Waddington to obtain a copy of an inscription on a fountain near Cosbouna, and although I knew that the brigands were in the neighbourhood, I was not aware till afterwards that they were within gun-shot distance of the fountain. I came away, however, in safety with the inscription.

Workmen's Strike.

One morning, as I went to the diggings, I met all the workmen coming away from them, with shouldered

picks and shovels. Upon questioning their leader, a young man who had on another occasion shown a rebellious spirit, in answer to my inquiries, he told me that they had all decided to give up the work. At first he would not give any reason, but on being pressed, he said that one of the cavasses placed over them was in the habit of stealing their food, and unless I discharged him they would not remain. It would have weakened my authority over the men if I had consented to this, so I told them that I should not discharge the cavass, but I would give him other work to do. At first this would not satisfy them, but on my repeating what I said they consented, and returned to their work.

I had not then as many men as I really needed; it was one of the difficulties I had to contend with. Numbers of men who would willingly work elsewhere would not work at Ephesus, it had such a bad reputation for malignant fever.

Fatal Accident.

The only fatal accident which occurred during my eleven years of work at Ephesus took place soon after I had discovered the temple. In the course of sinking trial-holes before the discovery, I had found an inscription twenty-two feet underground, and I left it to be taken up at some future time; but as I was anxious to show it to Mr. Newton on the occasion of his visit on a certain Monday, I ordered my ganger, on the previous Saturday, to have it brought up to the surface by the time the train arrived from Smyrna. Unfortunately,

heavy rain fell on Sunday, and the ganger, thinking my order was to be obeyed under any circumstances, sent the very best man I had, a negro named Miryan, down into the hole where the stone was, to clear it and put a rope round it. The poor man had adjusted the rope, and was about to climb up out of the hole, but he unfortunately turned back to adjust the rope more firmly when some tons of earth fell upon him, and seven minutes elapsed before he could be taken out. He was then dead; and when Mr. Newton and myself arrived, his body was laid out on an ancient tomb in the picturesque little mosque in the lower village of Ayasalouk.

A Turk's Idea of Protestants.

When I had opened up a considerable amount of the ruins of the temple, and laid bare many drums of the large columns, the Mudir of the district, an old-fashioned Turk, who had not long been elected to the office, paid me a visit of ceremony, and expressed a desire to see the ruins of the temple under my guidance. We strolled leisurely down to the temple; the works were suspended for three days to enable the men to keep the feast of Bairam. On our arrival at the ruins, the Mudir was astonished to see such large blocks of marble, and wondered by what means they had been discovered, as there had been nothing on the surface to indicate the existence of anything so important. After looking wonderingly at the ruins, the Mudir, turning to me, asked me to what building they had belonged. I explained to him that it was a large Djami (mosque)

which had been built by the Greeks more than 2,000 years ago, and was dedicated to a woman, a goddess, whose statue, thirty or forty feet high, was placed in the building, and had attracted vast crowds of worshippers from all parts. 'Ah!' said the Mudir, 'Bilirim' (I understand); 'they were Protestants.' The Mudir had evidently not made any distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant modes of worship. The same Mudir expressed his astonishment at seeing a woman (Mrs. Wood) going so freely among the workmen, and giving medicaments and medicine to the workmen who needed them; he threw up his arms and exclaimed, 'Oh, those English women!' Mrs. Wood twice a day walked down to the diggings with an apron of many pockets full of necessaries for the sick men; but he visited us often enough to become accustomed to the sight, and instead of a feeling which seemed at first almost one of aversion, he entertained one of respect and admiration, until at last he invited her to sit by his side on a bank commanding a good view of the workmen.

Workmen's Demonstration.

One day, when I had more than two hundred men at work, the Mudir and another government official came to collect the poll-tax. The men appealed to me to protect them against the imposition, as they called it, saying that they would have to pay the tax again on their return home. I did not, of course, interfere with the duty of the Turkish officials, but to evade the tax

one hundred and fifty of the men came afterwards to my house, to ask for the money due to them for the two days they had worked since the weekly payment of their wages. I did not, of course, take out more money than was sufficient to pay the men's wages for the previous week; I had therefore no money to meet their demand. This they would not for some time believe, notwithstanding my repeated assurances, and as they lingered about the house, the sergeant of the police placed two sentries at my door with fixed bayonets. This was an act of supererogation, for if the men had wished to enter the house the two sentries could not have prevented them. After waiting a little longer the men returned to their work, and I heard no more about the poll-tax.

Difficulties of the Work.

In carrying on the excavations from first to last I had many difficulties and discouragements to contend with, more indeed than I can here recount. Scarcity of workmen was one very great difficulty, when I had overcome that of getting money for the excavations. I would arrive in September ready to put on at least two hundred men, and it took weeks to get together one hundred. A Khoja from beyond Konia, fourteen days' journey on foot from Ephesus, when he heard that the works had commenced, several times came with a number of men. These men were the best I had for steady work, but they were not intelligent, and could not be entrusted with work in the lowest stratum of six feet, where almost all the marbles of consequence were found. Among my most

formidable enemies rain, when abundant, was a terrible one. Not only did the men cease their work, but the rain-water quickly and readily percolated through the sand on every side, and I had once 11 feet 4 inches of water above the pavement. This caused great delay in the work, as I was obliged to wait for the water to subside. On this particular occasion the Duke of St. Albans paid me a visit; he saw nothing but a muddy lake with some wheel-barrows floating in it with outstretched arms, like so many drowning men appealing for help.

So at this time I had money and workmen, but the weather stopped the work. Another difficulty was the bread supply. By law the bakal was obliged to supply the men with a loaf of bread weighing an oke ($2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.) for two piasters (about 4*d.*), but the bread was often short of weight and bad in quality, and I was called upon repeatedly to interfere. I was obliged to protect the men against the imposition of the bakal, and the bakal in his turn against the dishonesty of the men, who, in the earlier stage of the work, would run into debt with the bakal, and go away without warning. To prevent this, I was obliged to take the bakal's list every week, and pay the men their wages minus the amount owing to the bakal. In this manner I found an immense difference in the habits of the men; some few of them would have little or nothing coming to them, they had saved nothing. All the men eat their bread in the morning warm from the oven. I tried in vain to persuade them to eat stale bread.

In the earlier stages of the work, and before the temple was found, my men often deserted me for em-

ployment on the railway, which they probably thought more permanent, but they often returned to me after a few days.

I need scarcely say that I was a great sufferer from fever, although it did not often keep me from my work. My workmen were greater sufferers, and I have had at one time as many as seventy-five men down with fever. There were many difficulties at the time the explorations were going on, which I cannot now call to mind. They have disappeared in the long retrospect.

Arrest of Kiourts for brutal treatment of a fellow-workman.

One evening after dinner and we had settled down for a quiet evening after the day's labour, my head cavass (Edrise) came to me, and told me that fifteen drunken Kiourt men had maltreated one of my men, and that the man was dying. I had forbidden gambling amongst my men, and he had refused to gamble with them that evening, as he had done to his loss on a former occasion; they had consequently set upon him and beaten him nearly to death. I asked where the police were. There were only two, and they were drunk, and therefore useless; so I told Edrise to call the cavasses, and the one sapper I had then with me, every man to be fully armed. They were soon ready; and when I had obtained enough rope to tie these fifteen men together in gangs of five, we started for the lower village where the poor wounded man was said to

be dying. As we approached the spot, I halted my men; an idea had occurred to me as we marched down. It appeared to me to be highly injudicious for us all to rush into the room where the Kiourt men were assembled. So I told my men that I should go in amongst them with Edrise only, fearing that if I went in accompanied by all my force, there would probably be a fight, the Kiourt men being drunk, and therefore likely to resist their arrest, unless it was quietly done.

Before going after these men, I went to see in what state the man assaulted really was. I found him stretched out at full length in a large café which was full of my men; he was moaning, and apparently breathing his last. The external injuries were bruises upon his body and some severe wounds of the scalp, which was frightfully lacerated. I now sent the sapper back to my house to get some bandages from Mrs. Wood, who was preparing them for myself or any of my people who might need them. I then proceeded to the room where the Kiourt men were, under the guidance of one of my men who said he knew where they were. We had not far to go. We entered an outer yard, and our guide went forward to the room, and boldly throwing back the shutter of the window, looked in, and exclaimed that they were all there. I must here confess to one second's hesitation; but, repeating my instructions, I went forward, accompanied by Edrise only, and opened the door, and went in. There were about twelve men seated on their heels in a semicircle round a fire. On my entrance they all rose to their feet; I stepped within the circle, and, standing with my back to the fire, faced the men. The first thing to be done was to write down the men's

names, so that if any of them escaped they might be arrested afterwards. I thought I might exhibit some nervousness if I wrote their names down with my own hand, but as I handed my book to Edrise, I observed that my hand was perfectly steady, so I thought it was a good opportunity to make the men believe I had no fear, and I kept the book and wrote the names down myself. One of these men I had discharged for some weeks, but instead of going away to his village, which discharged workmen generally did, he remained at Ayasalouk, and often appeared in the lane between the diggings and my house, as I went to and fro alone. He several times stood chopping off small twigs with the knife which all Turkish working-men carry in their girdles. This knife I now took from him, reminding him that he had often threatened me with it. I then ordered six of the men out of the room, and as they went out slowly one by one, they were arrested by my men outside, and taken to the Konak, where they were detained. I was afterwards told that if the wounded man had died that night, the prisoners would have been rescued by a strong gang of their fellow-workmen, who I suppose were also Kiourts. I had at that time a number of these men, and I discharged them all.

Khans in Asia Minor.

Soon after this I went to Samos with an English gentleman who had lived many years in Asia Minor, and had been on one occasion severely wounded in an encounter with brigands. We had to traverse the mountain

between Ephesus and Neapolis, so we took Edrise and my groom, a Nubian named Billal. On our arrival at Neapolis we found the sea so rough that we could not persuade the boatmen to venture crossing over to Samos, so we were obliged to remain at the khan waiting for the sea to calm down; and as it was uncertain when the boatmen would come and announce their willingness to start, we went to bed, though in fear and trembling. The result justified our fears. We left our candles alight, and we soon saw what our fate must inevitably be. A full brigade of some regiments of—*cavalry*, judging from their speed, came from the ceiling down—down—down the walls, while numbers of skirmishers issued from their ambush in all four corners of the beds, and lost no time in attacking us. Sleep or rest were quite out of the question; the remainder of that wretched night, till the sailors came to tell us that we might set sail, was employed in indiscriminate slaughter. It was past midnight when we sailed for Samos; we reclined upon the cargo, which was of valonia (acorns). We feared meeting with more annoyance by parasites, but we were undisturbed, and made quite a pleasant voyage across to Vathi in a few hours. We remained that day and a great part of the next day at Samos—saw the remains of the Temple of Hera, which had columns of even a larger diameter than those of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

On the following day we returned, but we were becalmed; the consequence was, we did not reach Neapolis till after sunset. It was now a question whether we should remain at Neapolis all night at the khan, or venture across the mountain we had to cross on our way

to Ayasalouk. We decided that we would rather run the risk of being met by brigands than encounter the horrors of another night at the khan. Two men, strangers to myself and my people, offered to join us on our way to Ayasalouk; they said that they were connected with the post. We at once suspected that they might be connected with the brigands; I therefore called my men, and in a voice heard all over the khan, I told them to see to their pistols, as we might have to fight our way over the mountain. If the two strangers joined the band against us, we were four well-armed resolute men, but we started off with some apprehension of danger. Beside brigands, I thought of the Kiourt men whom I had discharged, who knew where I had gone, and might now revenge themselves by meeting me on the mountain with an overpowering force.

As we approached the most dangerous part of the pass, where the numerous bushes made a good ambush, one of the men who had volunteered to accompany us, and with his companion had by this time taken the lead, rode into the bushes, took the cigarette from his mouth and flourished it several times above his head. This doubtless was a signal, and I thought it must be to attack; I accordingly prepared by taking my revolver in hand. A few hundred yards farther on the signal was repeated, but we passed on without seeing anything of our expected assailants, and we breathed freely again when we had fairly descended into the plain. Every man of the party of six had up to that time kept perfect silence; and now, on comparing notes with my friend, we came to the conclusion that the signal with the cigarette must have been *not* to attack. Our apprehension of danger

had been greater, from the fact that when we passed the guard-house there was no light to be seen in it, and no reply was made to our repeated shoutings; we concluded, therefore, that the '*guards*' were out with the robbers, lying in wait for travellers, who often fall victims simply by non-resistance, when they are stopped on the road. But travelling by night in Turkey is seldom indulged in; it is considered too dangerous.

Arabs versus Turks.

During the season 1872–73, more than one hundred Arabs with their wives and children, and in a few cases their fathers and grandfathers, having heard that these excavations were going on, came to Ephesus and pitched their tents near the excavations, and on the side of the hill at Ayasalouk. I employed all the able-bodied, amounting to about one hundred, and they gratefully accepted employment. I soon found that they were quicker than the Turks, so I pitted them against the Turks, giving gangs of both an equal amount of work to do. This arrangement stimulated them all, the Arabs filled the barrows and ran away with them to the 'tip,' and the Turks attempted for a time to imitate their example and compete with them, but the Arabs were by far the quickest, and the Turks were obliged to give up the contest and soon settled down to their old easy pace. Over every thirty men I placed an overlooker. I thus utilized my body-guard of four cavasses, and the English sappers from the Royal Engineers who had been sent to my assistance. So I got much more work out of

'Johnny Turk' than he would have given me of his own accord.

Out of a gang of three hundred men I was eventually able to select about thirty who could be trusted to work at the lowest stratum where any remains of the temple were likely to be found. Fourteen feet above this stratum consisted of nothing but sand and rough stones; hundreds of the latter formed a pavement only four feet below the surface, which was probably cotemporary with the Mosque of Sultan Selim. The sand was black, and was washed down from the adjacent mountains, which were chiefly composed of mica-schist. The Arab workmen were quite in their element with the sand, they undercut it, and it fell in tons at a time. One day a larger quantity than was expected fell upon a number of the Arabs, but they were very quickly extricated by their fellow-workmen, who soon scratched them out with their hands, and not a single man appeared to be hurt by his temporary burial.

I remember that I had to keep a watchful eye over the men, to prevent a regular pitched battle between the Arabs and Turks, and I once had to intervene to prevent a fight.

Religious Observances at Ephesus.

The large Mosque of Sultan Selim on the west side of the hill at Ayasalouk is supposed by many people, ignorant of architecture and archæology, to have been the Church of St. John the Divine; but it certainly never was a Christian church at any time, it was built as a

mosque at the same time that the Turks built a large town in that part of the plain of Ephesus; this is clearly indicated by the numerous ruins of small mosques, baths, and seminaries now to be found there.

Under the impression, however, that the great mosque was St. John's Church, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Monsignore Spaccapietra, the well-known enthusiastic supporter and advocate of the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, at the Œcumenical Council held in St. Peter's at Rome in 1870, gathered on more than one occasion a solemn assembly of some fifty or sixty of his Smyrna congregation, and, erecting an altar against the modern east division-wall of the mosque, performed mass, much to the satisfaction of himself and his congregation. In conversation with the archbishop, I found that he quite believed that his service had been performed in the Church of St. John, and I think he would have been sorry to have been undeceived.

The Armenians hold a service on the top of Mount Coressus, which attracts many hundreds of worshippers, numbers of whom go from Smyrna on the eve of the saint's day, and bivouac near the few stones which they say mark the site of the ancient church dedicated to their patron saint. The railway authorities erect for their accommodation two large marquees, to protect them as far as possible from the night air, which is believed to be so deadly at Ephesus.

The remains of an ancient Greek church were discovered on the top of the hill at Ayasalouk by some of the people connected with the railway from Smyrna to Aidin. A large marble chair, probably the bishop's, was found, as well as other proofs of its having been an early

Christian church. The modern Greeks conceived a great reverence for these remains and their site, and they collected a sum of money sufficient to build a small church, using the walls of the ancient church as foundations. In this little church regular services were held on Sundays, and fast and feast days; to which the villagers were invited by a large bell, suspended on a wooden frame on the top of the hill. It appeared, indeed, as if the lamp of Ephesus was relighted; but I was sorry to find, on a recent visit to Ephesus (April 1887), that this interesting little church had been accidentally burnt down, and there seems to be little hope of its being rebuilt. There are on the hill at Ayasalouk many remains of ancient buildings; among these a young religious enthusiast came to live; he chose for his repose at night a small opening in one of the massive piers of masonry, just long enough and wide enough to lie down in. He painted rough ideal likenesses of St. John and other saints for sale, but the young hermit disappeared from among us as quietly and mysteriously as he had appeared, and no one knew afterwards what had become of him. One of his pictures represented John the Baptist beheaded and carrying his head under his arm; this picture was placed in the church, and I suppose the Greeks kissed it fervently and reverently, as they do the pictures of saints in their churches.

We often had as visitors in our little house at Ayasalouk Protestant clergymen and missionaries of the Church of England. Some of the latter were conversant with modern Greek, and held services in the large room of our house, when a few of the villagers attended. These were chiefly Greeks, and they seemed to be much pleased

and interested in hearing portions of the New Testament read and explained in a manner quite new to them.

Dishonesty of Turks.

I am sorry that I am obliged to give an adverse opinion as to the honesty of Turks generally. Of my own workmen, there was never more than a small percentage of the men that I could trust. The men would habitually take any small object, if unobserved, and they would even rob one another. On one occasion at the end of the season, when the men set out for their own homes in one another's company for safety's sake, two men attacked a fellow-workman and robbed him of all his savings, which were the result of great self-denial, and which he was taking home to his wife. The poor man returned penniless to Ayasalouk before the whole of the men had started, and these men subscribed liberally to replace part of the money the poor man had been robbed of.

An armlet of solid gold was found by one of my workmen; he did not give it up, but confided the secret of the find to one of his fellow-workmen who shared his room with him. The other at once claimed one-half, which the finder resisted, so they quarrelled over it, and the discovery was revealed to one of my cavasses, through whom I obtained the armlet. I packed it against the lid of one of the cases I sent to the British Museum; it was unfortunately overlooked by the men who opened the case, and no one could afterwards say what had become of it.

It is difficult to prevent the stealing of any small objects found in excavations. In my case most of the antiquities were found in the lowest stratum of about six feet in depth, and on this I placed the men in whom I had the greatest confidence, both for their honesty and their careful work. I consoled myself with the reflection that they could not run off with the heavy marbles.

Superstition of the Turks.

An eclipse of the moon occurred while I was digging at Ephesus. When it commenced the people of Ayasalouk, Greeks as well as Turks, fired off their guns and pistols. On inquiring the reason for this, I found that they believed that a great monster had fastened itself upon the moon and was about to eat it up, and they fired off their guns to frighten away the monster. They of course believed that they succeeded in this, as the moon eventually cleared; but on this occasion one of them shot an old cow and killed her, and her carcase served the following day to supply the whole village with beef, a luxury not often indulged in by the inhabitants of Ayasalouk.

Fight between Greeks and Turks.

One Sunday evening a Turkish workman, having taken too much *raki*, on passing a café in Ayasalouk, outside of which a priest and some Greeks were sitting, on being ridiculed by one of the Greeks, stopped and cursed

both them and their religion. 'Why do you curse my children?' said the priest. The Turk replied by striking the priest with his stick. The Greek then rose up and began to assault the Turk, who laid about him furiously with his stick, and was soon joined by some of his fellow-workmen. Extending from small beginnings, the fight soon became a pitched battle between fifty or sixty combatants armed with sticks and stones. Our sergeant, M^c^ Kin, in vain threw himself between them. The men were not then on the works, as they had been on several previous occasions, when he had succeeded in stopping a fight between Turks and Arabs; in this case the affair had been brewing for a long time. They now told him to get out of the way, or he would be hurt, but they must have it out. So the fight went on. The Turks being most numerous as well as the most courageous, drove the Greeks into the barley fields, and obliged many of them eventually to take refuge in some of the cafés. The door of one of them was kept by the sergeant, who narrowly escaped injury. The fight lasted more than two hours. The station-master, who had gone up to Tchirkenjee, hearing of the fight as he approached the village, was afraid to return to the station that night, but early in the morning he ventured to return, and he telegraphed to Smyrna and Aidin for help. Some of the cafés were broken into and robbed; my house was fortunately respected, although it was deserted by the cavasses who had charge of it.

I received news of the fight only when we arrived at the railway station at Smyrna on Monday morning, on our way up to Ephesus. The telegram, professing to give full particulars of the disturbance, greatly exagger-

ated its seriousness. A great fight, they said, had taken place among my workmen, and numbers had been killed and wounded, and the fight was still going on; that soldiers had been sent for from Aidin to prevent further hostilities, &c., &c. On hearing this news, I hesitated to take Mrs. Wood with me, but she determined to go, saying that her services to the wounded might be of more use than usual. Miss Constance Cumberbatch, who accompanied us that morning, also decided to go out and assist. On arriving at Ayasalouk we found the rooms at the station and part of the station platform occupied by the wounded, the Turks and Greeks having been carefully separated. One poor man, a Turk, was on the platform with a large splinter in his forehead, which I tried in vain to extract, and it was only removed next day by a surgeon from H.M.S. Swiftsure, who had to use a strong arm and powerful forceps. The Greek priest, who had been chiefly the cause of the fight, had been cudgeled from head to foot, and his lamentations over his hard fate were loud and bitter, and another sufferer had three broken ribs. Fortunately, no knives had been used, so there had been no stabbing, and therefore no loss of life. One hundred soldiers had been sent from Aidin, and the Kaimachan of Scala Nova and the Deputy-Governor of Aidin had come to investigate the affair. Those of my workmen who had not been arrested, or who had taken no part in the fight, were found at the excavations methodically digging and wheeling, as if nothing had happened. A hasty glance from some of them, to see how the affair had affected me, was all that I could detect.

The soldiers had unfortunately not brought bread with

them, and they arrived just in time to secure for themselves the batch of loaves intended for my workmen, and which was then in the oven; my men had therefore to wait till more bread could be baked. Meanwhile, Mrs. Wood occupied herself in binding up the heads and limbs of the wounded, and did all she could to alleviate their sufferings, assisted by Miss Cumberbatch, till the arrival of the doctor from the Swiftsure, for whom I had telegraphed on our arrival.

The Turkish officials made the railway platform their justice-hall, sentries being posted at each end to prevent intrusion. The depositions of the wounded men were taken and carefully written down by the Governor's clerk, to be forwarded to Smyrna with the prisoners. I lost the services of some of my best workmen by this affair, as they were not liberated for five weeks. Even Tahir Bey, the chief of the police, who had served in India, and had English sympathies, had not sufficient influence to obtain their release, and their trial was deferred from day to day and from week to week. Imprisonment in such prisons as the gaol in Smyrna is of itself a severe punishment.

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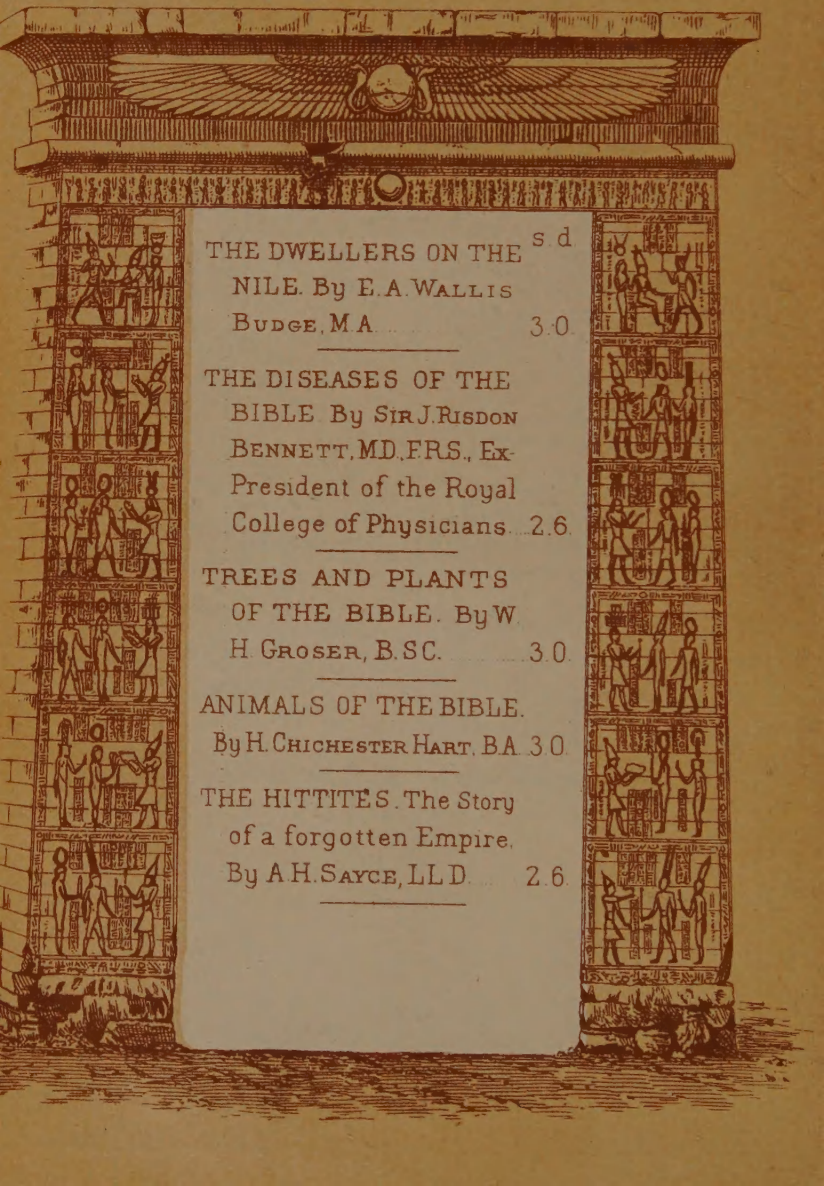

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